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TITLES OF MIDAS

G. L. HUXLEY



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THE TEXT OF THE LARGE INSCRIPTIONS upon the façade of the so-called “Tomb of Midas” at Yazılıkaya was given in transcription by J. Friedrich in his *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkenmäler*¹ as follows:

1 → *ατες | αρκιαεφαις | ακενανολαφος | μιδαι | λαφαλταει | φανακτει | εδαες*

2 → *βαβα | μεμεφαις | προιταφος | κφιζαναφεζος | σικενεμαν | εδαες*

These inscriptions are of great interest, because the titles of Midas in the first of them are similar to the names of classes of ruler written on the Mycenaean tablets of over half a millennium earlier. It is important that the titles of Midas should not be dismissed on the grounds that they are peripheral and have nothing to do with the early history of Greece. We have here precious evidence of political continuity in Asia Minor after the collapse of Mycenaean power in mainland Greece about 1200 B.C.

In his valuable article “Helladic Kingship and the Gods”² Jaan Puhvel, observing that the Mycenaean king may have had two titles, remarks: “. . . we are reminded of the old Phrygian inscription on the Tomb of Midas: *μιδαι λαφαλταει φανακτει*. Whatever the detail of *λαφαλταει*, perhaps the whole phrase is a latter day Helladic reminiscence in the backlands of Asia Minor.” It is generally agreed that the second of the epithets should be read *φανακτει*. Concerning the correct transcription of the first of them there has been some variety of opinion. I give first a revised text of the two inscriptions, the readings of which are based on a close study of photographs and of the reports of visitors to the monument. Having determined the correct transcription, I shall discuss the titles of Midas with regard to the early history of relations between the Greeks and the Phrygians.

The two inscriptions are clearly by different hands, since in the upper one the sigmas have three bars, but five in the lower. The former runs diagonally along the upper left hand

¹ *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, 163 (Berlin, 1932), 125 Nos. 1 and 2.

² *Minoica*, Festschrift J. Sundwall, ed. E. Grumach (Berlin, 1958), 327-333.

side of the monument from left to right towards the cornice, and the latter is inscribed at the lower right hand side and is read upwards, from left to right. According to E. Brandenberg³ the letters of the upper inscription are about 45 cm. high. In both the epsilon are three and four stroked. I indicate the number of strokes above each epsilon of the transcription.

YAZILIKAYA. "TOMB OF MIDAS," UPPER INSCRIPTION (1)

Ατε³ | Αρκιδε³φαι⁴ | Ακενανολαφο³ | Μιδαι³ | λαφαγταε⁴ | φανακτε³ | εδαε³

Ατε³ — Ατι³ Von Reber, *Abh Bayr*, 21 (1897), 566.

Ακενανολαφο³ — Ακενανογαφο³ (?) Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (London, 1824), 21.

λαφαγταε⁴ — γαφατταε⁴ (?) Leake. λαφαγταε⁴ C. O. Müller, *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, transl. H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis, 1 (London, 1839), 9 note M. Luria, (1957), *infra* note 4.

λαφαγταε⁴ or λαφαλταε⁴ F. de Saussure, in E. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1898), 172 note 1. λαφαλταε⁴ W. M. Ramsay, *JRAS*, 15 (1883), 121. J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkenmäler* (Berlin, 1932), 125 No. 1. E. Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graecorum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora* (Leipzig, 1923), 404 Nos. 1 and 2. Von Reber, *loc. cit. supra*. *Gavarta-ei* A. Fick, *Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, 14 (Göttingen, 1888), 50–51. λαφαπταε⁴ (?) A. Körte, *AM*, 23 (1898), 85.

εδαε³ — εδαε³ Leake *loc. cit. supra*.

A possible meaning: "Ates, son of Arkeaevas (?), grandson of Akenanolas made < this > (?) for Midas the *lawagetas*, the king."

YAZILIKAYA. "TOMB OF MIDAS," LOWER INSCRIPTION (2)

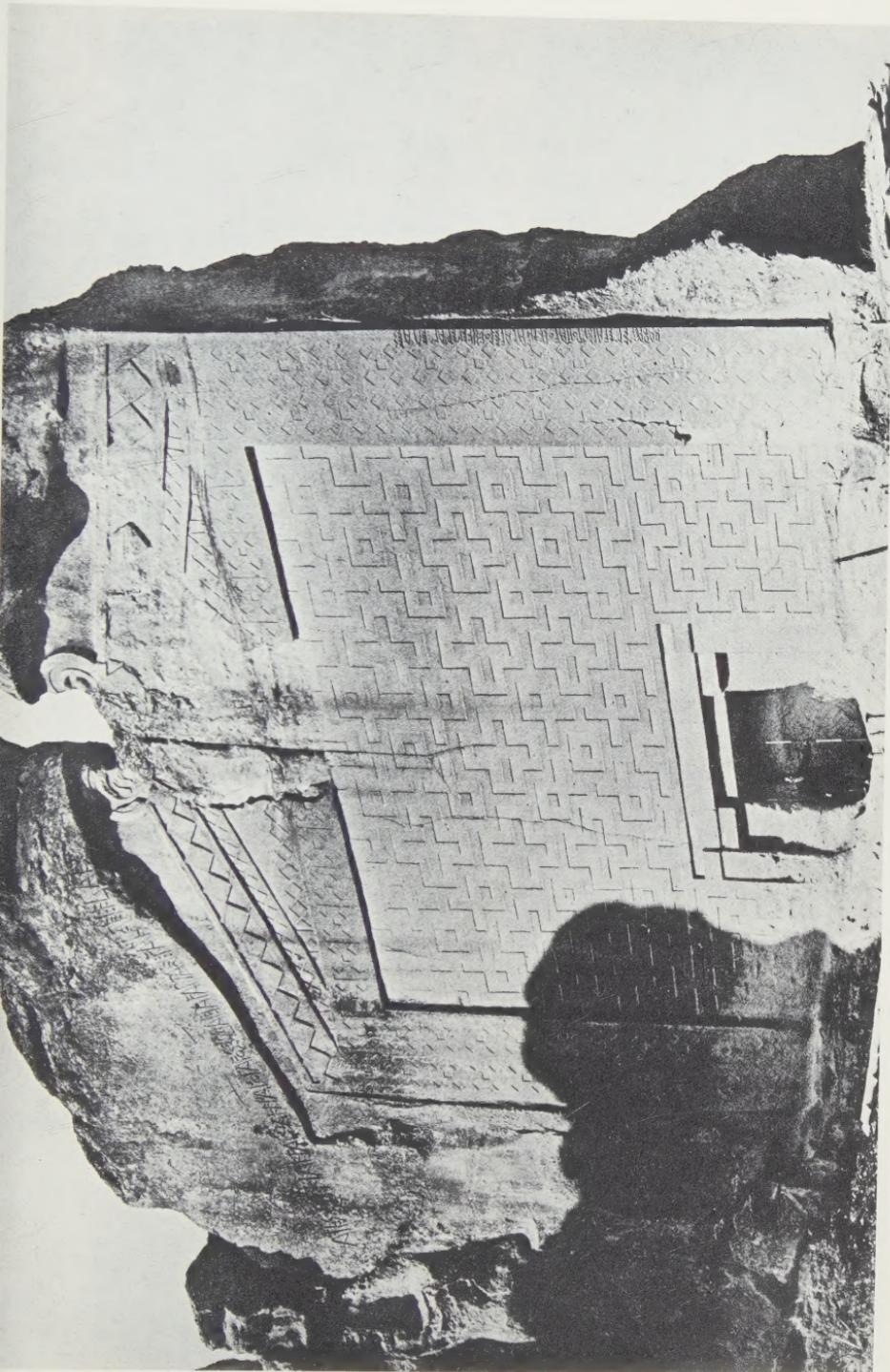
βαβα³ | μεμε³φαι⁴ | προιταφο³ | κφιζαναφε⁴ζο³ | σικενεμα³ν | εδαε³

κφιζαναφε⁴ζο³ — κότιζαναφε⁴ζο³ Schwyzer, *Exempla*, 404 No. 2.

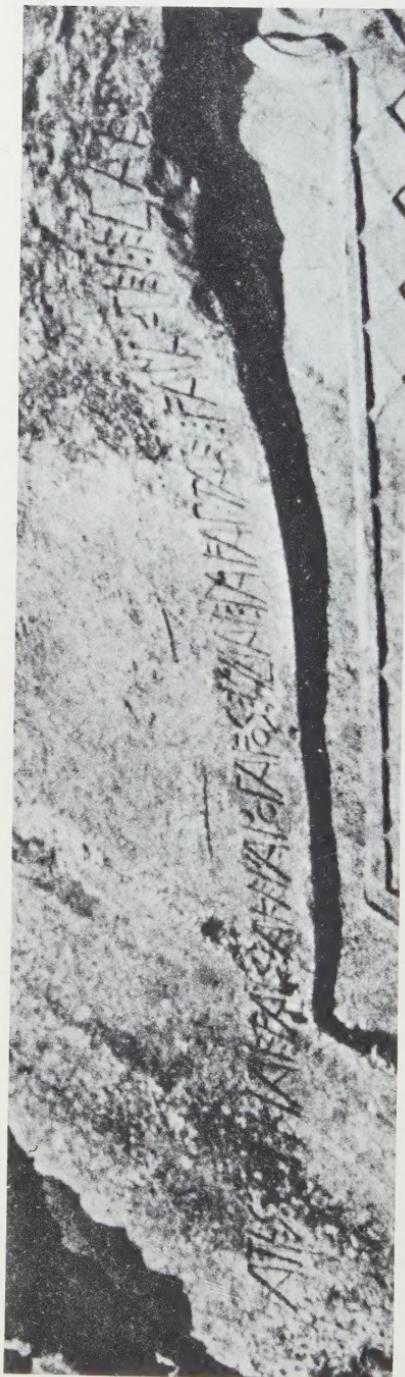
σι³ κενεμα³ν — σικενεμα³ν Leake. οικενεμα³ν Brandenberg.

εδαε³ — εγαε³ Ramsay. Λ = Δ according to A. H. Sayce, *JHS*, 46 (1926), 32. Each sigma is five barred as in the text transcribed by J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkenmäler* (Berlin, 1932),

³ *Abh Bayr*, 23 (1906), 644–645.



YAZILIKAYA. "TOMB OF MIDAS"



YAZILIKAYA. "TOMB OF MIDAS," UPPER INSCRIPTION (1)



YAZILIKAYA. "TOMB OF MIDAS," LOWER INSCRIPTION (2)

126 No. 14, and illustrated by H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin, 1942), No. 1102.

A possible meaning: "Baba, son of Memewas (?), grandson of Proitas, a man of Gordion (?), made this monument."

Luria,⁴ allowing for the possibility that *λαφαλταει* and not *λαφαγταει* should be read in the upper inscription, compared the Legean name **Αλτης* (Homer, *Iliad* Φ 85,86. X 51), but he was unwilling to discount all connection between Mycenaean *λαφαγέτας* and the Phrygian royal title. If *λαφαλταει* is retained, then it can only be explained as a formation from *λαφο-* and *αλτα-*, "nourisher of the people."

The Midas monument was discovered by W. M. Leake in 1800.⁵ He copied the inscriptions carefully and at once saw that both titles in inscription (1) applied to the Phrygian king. He wrote: "The distinguishing appellation of the particular Midas to whom the monument was dedicated, seems to be contained in the word of the upper inscription between *Μίδα* and *ἄνακτι*. . . ." He noted that the first letter of the word appeared to be the old gamma; the sixth was perhaps a T, of which part of the upper line had been effaced. He therefore assumed that the name in Greek was *ΓΑΦΑΤΤΑΗΣ*, which he compared with the Lydian royal names Sadyattes and Alyattes. In his copy of the inscription, however, the first and the fifth, and the fifth and the sixth, letters are clearly distinguished from each other, thus: *ΓΑΦΑΓΤΑΕΙ*. If the sixth letter is a T, then the fifth is a Γ. Therefore the first letter is a Λ. It follows that Leake correctly copied the appearance of the word, but misinterpreted the letters. Phrygian lambda and gamma are confusingly alike. Ramsay could read *λαφαλταει* where Leake saw *γαφατταει*, and conversely *Ακενανολαφος* where Leake gave *Ακενανογαφος*. A close inspection of an enlarged photograph of the upper inscription suggests strongly that the correct readings are *λαφαγταει* and *Ακενανολαφος*. The gamma of *λαφαγταει*

⁴ S. Luria, Язык и культура микенской греции (Moscow-Leningrad, 1957), 217-219.

⁵ Cf. K. Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (İstanbul, 1942), 76, who recalls other later visitors, besides Leake.

is quite distinct from the lambda of the same word and of Ακενανολαφος. It differs also from the pi of the name Προιταφος in inscription (2), where the top of the letter is looped over in a semicircle to the right hand side of the hasta.

The word *εδαες* at the end of each inscription was read *εγαες* by Ramsay in (2). It is true that no horizontal bar at the bottom of the letter can be clearly seen, but the cutter may have feared that the edge of the monument would be spoiled if he cut deeply so close to it. It is remarkable that the two persons named in the upper and lower inscriptions, Ates and Baba, perform the same act *εδαες*. One would naturally be taken as the dedicant and the other as the builder of the monument. The word has been compared with root *dhe* "set" or "make" and so translated "dedicated" or "made." Since both inscriptions were surely cut while the scaffolding was still in place in front of the monument, Baba and Ates were probably joint makers or dedicants. Baba made *σι κενεμαν* "this tomb," or "this monument," but there is no expressed object of *εδαες* in (1). It is difficult to suppose that *σι κενεμαν* is understood as object, because the inscriber cannot have assumed that a visitor to the monument would read the lower inscription first. He made or set up something for Midas the king; what he set up would have been placed close to the inscription for it to make sense. The letters lead the eye to the top of the cornice; a separate dedication such as a small staute may once have stood where the top of the façade has broken away. The early tradition of the presence of a bronze maiden on top of the tomb of Midas shows that such dedications once stood on the top of Phrygian monuments.

Baba is a "lallname." The expression *σι κενεμαν* is comparable with the *κνουμαν* and *κνουμμαν* of later Phrygian tomb formulae. In (1) *ϝανακτει* corresponds to the form *wa-na-ke-te* found at Pylos.⁸ Inscription No. 6 in Ramsay's list is relevant here. Ramsay gave the reading: *ακινανολαφαν τιζες μουρο ϝανακ αφαρζ* (*modrovanak* A. H. Sayce, *JHS*, 46 [1926], 32 No. 6.) Friedrich's text is:

⁸ J. Chadwick, *Minoica* (Berlin, 1958), 118.

1 → ακινανολαφαν : τιζες 2 ← μοδροφανακ : αφαρξ

Ramsay said that he was unsure of the punctuation after *μογρο*, and added that the second and the third digammas were uncertain. Yet he compared *favanak* with *favaktei* of the Midas monument. If *favanak* is the nominative of *favaktei*, then it will represent the true Mycenaean nominative *wa-na-ka*, to which it is closer than *favaξ*: the correct spelling of final ξ in Mycenaean is far from clear, but by analogy with the later Cypriote syllabary *wa-na-ka-sa* would possibly be a more accurate rendering of *favaξ* than *wa-na-ka*. If Meister⁷ was right in thinking that *favanak* is a nominative, then we should possibly render Mycenaean *wa-na-ka* by *favanak*. But if *favanak* is in agreement with *Ακινανολαφαν* it is then an accusative and an abbreviation of *favaktaν*.⁸ At Athens the Dioscuri were known both as **Ανακτες* and **Ανακες*. They also appear in the dual as **Ανακε*.⁹ The accusative singular of this form of *favaξ* would analogously be **ἀνακα* or *favanaka*. It is therefore possible that *favanak* in Ramsay's inscription No.6 is not an accusative but a nominative. Conversely *wa-na-ka* in Mycenaean may sometimes represent the accusative of the form *favanak*, *favanaka*, rather than the nominative *favaξ*. If the name *wo-no-qo-so* at Knossos is correctly interpreted as *fouνoψ*, then *favaξ* should appear as *wa-na-ka-sa*, but the form is not found. It is most unfortunate that Ramsay's inscription No.6 cannot be read surely.

Midas, then, was both king and war-leader. A single man bore both Mycenaean titles. Can the Midas of the monument be the great Midas who ruled at Gordion about the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. before the disastrous onslaught of the Cimmerians? There are good reasons for thinking that the great Midas is named on the monument. Until recently the date of the monument had not been fixed with certainty. Before the recent excavations at Gordion opinion had inclined to a date later than the Cimmerian invasions owing to the supposed absence of any writing of the eighth century B.C. in

⁷ *IGForsch*, 25 (1909), 317 note 3.

⁸ F. Solmsen, *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*), NF 14 (Gütersloh, 1897), 40 note 1.

⁹ M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, 1 (Munich, 1955), 407.

Phrygia. On archaeological grounds A. Körte,¹⁰ Von Reber,¹¹ R. D. Barnett,¹² and E. Akurgal¹³ have all proposed a date about 600 B.C. for the monument. However, writing has now been found in wax on a ring-handled shallow bowl from the Royal Tomb at Gordion.¹⁴ The tomb was built earlier than the coming of the Cimmerians, and shows that the Phrygians were using the Phoenician script in the eighth century B.C. The geometrical decoration upon the façade of the Midas monument calls to mind the patterns on the back of the throne found in Tumulus P at Gordion,¹⁵ which is also earlier than the Cimmerian invasions. Since both the script and the decoration of the façade have analogies in Phrygian objects of the eighth century B.C. it is reasonable to suppose that the Midas monument was erected not long after the death of the great king, when Phrygia was still rich enough to afford such a magnificent structure. The Midas of the monument is the great contemporary of Sargon II of Assyria.

Since the Midas of the monument bore two titles, it is possible that the same man was sometimes both *wa-na-ka* and *ra-wa-ke-ta* in Mycenaean society. The Midas monument also shows that in Homer's day the title *favaξ* may still have had political significance amongst the Ionian and Aeolian neighbors of the Phrygians. Because in the eighth century B.C. Phrygia was prosperous, powerful, and monarchical, the Mycenaean titles of her kings lost none of their ancient significance. Cyprus also may have preserved such archaisms, since members of the Cyprian royal families were called *ἄνακτες* and *άνασσαι* according to Aristotle, and may have kept those names even in his own day. (Harpocration v. *ἄνακτες* καὶ *άνασσαι* οἱ μὲν νιὸι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καλοῦνται *ἄνακτες*, αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναῖκες *άνασσαι*. *Ἄριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Κυπρίων πολιτείᾳ. Harpocration et Moeris*, ed. Bekker [Berlin, 1833], 18.) In Galatia the title *favaξ* seems to have developed into a proper name *Ovavaξος*, having lost its royal significance; whereas *Ovavaktaν* became a

¹⁰ *AM*, 23 (1898), 140.

¹¹ *AbhBayr*, 21 (1897), 531ff.

¹² *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 10 (1953), 78–82.

¹³ *Phrygische Kunst* (Ankara, 1955); cf. M. J. Mellink, *AJA*, 61 (1957), 394.

¹⁴ R. S. Young, *AJA*, 62 (1958), 153 and plate 25.

¹⁵ *AJA*, 62 (1957), 330.

title of Attis and the Pamphylian nature goddess was called *μανασσα*.¹⁶

The form *λαφαγταει* comes (I suppose) from a nominative **λαφαγτας*, which is not found in Mycenaean. The Mycenaean nominative is *ra-wa-ke-ta*. Since there were variants of the word *μαναξ* in use until a late period, the same may well have been true of the word *ra-wa-ke-ta*; **λαφαγτας* would appear as *ra-wa-ka-ta* in Mycenaean. The etymologies of *μαναξ* and of *λαφαγετας* are unknown, and it is possible that neither was originally a Greek word. If so, both Greek and Phrygian could have borrowed them from another, and possibly non-indoeuropean, language independently. Both words, for instance, could have been taken over from the language of Minoan Linear A. However, the hypothesis of direct Phrygian borrowing from Mycenaean Greek is less speculative, and can be supported by historical arguments, as will be shown later. At Pylos the duties of *μαναξ* and *λαφαγετας* seems to have been undertaken by different persons. Midas combined them. A similar combining of the functions of king and war-leader had been the practice of the Hittites. Normally both offices were held by one man (cf. O. R. Gurney, "Hittite Kingship," *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, ed. S. H. Hooke [Oxford, 1958], 105–121), but in his autobiography Hattusilis III stated that while his brother Muwatallis sat on the throne of their father, he himself became chief of the armed forces. In Mycenaean Greece the duties of king and war leader need not have always been held by different people; and when Homer made his heroes both kings and war leaders during the Trojan War, his account of them came as close to the facts as is possible in heroic poetry. Homer was not writing a socio-economic guide to Mycenaean Greece, but neither was he completely ignorant of Mycenaean conditions. It is a great error of method to infer a rigid social structure from the Pylos tablets, and then to assume that the same structure existed in all other Mycenaean states in the late Bronze Age. The political organization of Greece at the time of the Trojan War was very different from

¹⁶ J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS*, 19 (1899), 300. W. M. Calder, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, 1 (London, 1928), 217.

that of Pylos in the emergency before the sacking of the palace of the Neleids. In so far as Homer has an historical conception of Achaean society, he looks back to the age of greatest Mycenaean power rather than to conditions before the fall of Pylos, when Greece had already ceased to be a political unity whose centre was Mycenae. But the king of Mycenae about 1250 B.C. may well have been both *wa-na-ka* and *ra-wa-ke-ta*, since the Hittite emperors with whom he corresponded were both kings and war-leaders. When Midas took both titles, he was perhaps recalling the great overlords of the Achaean commonwealth.

Kretschmer compared the arrangement of the names at the beginning of the inscription with *Publius Annaeus Quinti (filius)*,¹⁷ and Meister showed that there is good reason to think that both *Ακενανολαφος* and *Προιταφος* are genitives.¹⁸ He compared an inscription from Kebren in Aeolis: *στ[άλλ]α* ἐπὶ Σθενείαι ἔμμι τὸ Νικαίοι τὸ Γλαυκίο. Since Phrygian does not employ the article the similarity is close. Here Aeolian affinity with Phrygia may be supposed. In each case the possessive adjective indicates paternity and the name of the grandfather is given in the genitive (cf. O. Hoffmann, *Die Griechischen Dialekte*, 2 [Göttingen, 1893], 99).

The word *κφιζαναφεζος* seems to be formed from the name of a place. Leake read *κφιζαναφεζος* and so did Ramsay, who, however, was not sure that the second letter had the sound of phi. The word is possibly an adjective formed from the place name *εν Κυρζαναζον* on Ramsay's inscription No.9 (Schwyzer, *Exempla*, 404 No.3[c]. Friedrich No.7[c]), a part of the Arezastis inscription at Doganlu Deressi. Meister suggested that Phrygian *Κυρζον* or *Κυρσον* corresponds to Greek *Γόρδιον*, and *Κυρζανεζος* to **Γορδιανησσός*. Then *Κφιζαναφεζος* may be the Phrygian equivalent of Greek **Γορδιανησσεύς*. Therefore if *Κφιζαναφεζος* and *Κυρζανεζον* are cognate, Baba the dedicant or maker came from Gordion.

If the Akenanolas of the Arezastis inscription is the same man as the Akenanolas grandfather of Ates, then we have the name of the grandmother of Ates, since Arezastis is called

¹⁷ *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 13 (1899), 358.

¹⁸ *βονά* in Cyprian. *βανά* in Boeotian. Cf. *βανήκας* · *γυναίκας*. *Βοιωτοί* Hesychius.

βονοκ, "wife" of Akenanolas.¹⁹ Then the Arezastis inscription may be dated two generations earlier than the Midas monument, and well back in the eighth century B.C. The dedicant to Arezastis seems to be her son *φρεκυν*. The Arezastis inscription illustrates Phrygian mother worship, such as is recalled in the Hesychian notice Μίδα θεός. I give the text after the edition of J. Schmidt (Ed. minor² [Jena, 1867], 1046), since the Hesychius of K. Latte is not yet published as far as M.

Μίδα θεός · οἱ ὑπὸ Μίδα βασιλευθέντες ἐσέβοντο καὶ ὅμινον τὴν Μίδα θεόν, ἣν τινες μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἐκτετιμῆσθαι λέγουσιν. (Compare Plutarch, *Caesar* 9 and Suid. v. ἔλεγος). A graffito on the right hand side of the Midas monument contains the words ΜΙΔΑ and MATEP on adjoining lines. Possibly the writer of the graffito chose to regard the monument as a shrine of the Phrygian king's mother, although that was not the intention of the builders. The graffito is given inadequately by Brandenberg in *AbhBayer*, 23 (1906), 644–645.

If the Akenanolas of the Midas monument and of the Arezastis inscription are the same man, the following stemma may be constructed:

Akenanolas = Arezastis

Vrekyn	Arkeaevas	(or a similar name forming a patronymic in Arkeaevais)
	Ates	

The *Akinanolas* of Ramsay No.6 is possibly the same person.

Besides the mother worship of the Phrygians, the shrines have also been connected with river worship. Probably an early cult going back to Hittite times was fused with the mother worship of the Phrygian newcomers. It is true that most of the Phrygian rock monuments are close to the headwaters of rivers and streams, and even the Midas monument may have had water near it at one time. In the Arezastis inscription the element of mother worship is dominant, and the same is obviously true of the graffito on the Midas monument. Sayce (*JHS*, 46 [1926], 32) supposed that Midas city, where

¹⁹ R. Meister, *Leipzig Berichte*, 63 (1911), 21–25.

most of the rock monuments are situated was called Metropolis by the Greeks, because Stephanus wrote: Μητρόπολις, πόλις Φρυγίας, ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν οἰκισθεῖσα, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Φρυγίας. ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Φρυγίας ὁμώνυμος. There are several places called Metropolis in Phrygia, but the suggestion is attractive. If Midas-city was called Metropolis by the Greeks, then the Phrygian name of the place is likely to have been similar, since MATEP is "mother" in Phrygian also. If Midas-city was called Metropolis, then *κφιζαναφεζος* cannot have been the name of an inhabitant of the place. Baba the dedicant of inscription (2) is more likely to have come from Gordion.

Heraclides Lembus,²⁰ in his excerpts from Aristotle, and Pollux²¹ stated that the daughter of Agamemnon of Kyme married a Midas, king of Phrygia. It has been assumed that this Agamemnon lived in the eighth century B.C.²² and if he did, his daughter Hermodike or Demodike may well have married the great Midas of Gordion at some time before Phrygia succumbed to the onslaught of the Treres and the Cimmerians. However, her marriage may have been to a later Phrygian prince, since she is associated with an early form of coinage, and true coinage in eighth century Aeolis is inconceivable; either then Demodike married a later Midas or she had nothing to do with coinage proper. On the first hypothesis her husband would have been a dependent of Lydia, who lived about 600 B.C.; possibly even the Midas grandfather of the Phrygian Adrastus the contemporary of Croesus.²³

Whatever the date of the marriage alliance between Phrygia and Kyme, it is probable that about 700 B.C. the relations between the great Midas and Kyme were close, for at that time Phrygia was strongest. Kyme lay at her natural outlet to the Aegian, and according to Strabo (xiii.622) the people of the place woke to the commercial possibilities of their port three hundred years after the city had been founded. That

²⁰ Aristotle Fr.611.37. ed. Rose. On the authorship of the excerpts see H. Bloch, *TAPA*, 71 (1940), 27-39, a reference due to J. J. Keaney. Cf. C. von Holzinger, *Philologus*, 50 (1891), 442ff., and G. F. Unger, *RM*, 38 (1883), 504.

²¹ 9.83.

²² H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge, 1952), 65.

²³ Herodotus 1.35. G.-A. Körte, *Gordion* (Berlin, 1904), 25.

would have been in the eighth century B.C. In the third quarter of the eighth century the Phrygian thalassocracy is conventionally dated.²⁴ If Phrygia traded through Kyme, we would perhaps expect to see some Greek influence at Gordion before the coming of the Cimmerians; but apart from the alphabet, which presumably came to Phrygia from the Greeks, the surprising fact remains that no Greek imports have yet been found at Gordion earlier than the seventh century B.C.²⁵ Yet Phrygia was certainly a trading power, with connections extending eastwards to Urartu and westwards to Campania. Her outlet to the Black Sea probably lay at Sinope; to gain access to the Aegean she needed the friendship of Kyme. The far flung interests of Midas are recalled by a surprising passage of Pliny (*N.H.* 7.56; 197): *Plumbum ex Cassiteride insula primus adportavit Midacritus*, where the emendation of Hardouin *Midas Phryx* should be adopted.²⁶

It is quite possible that Midas through Kyme assisted in the foundation of Chalcidian Cumae in Campania. Midas "the great" was interested in Delphi: he dedicated his throne there even earlier than Gyges sent offerings to Apollo.²⁷ The Phrygian sibyl also visited Delphi,²⁸ and since the Erythraean and Samian are both stated by Eusebius to have been active in the eighth century B.C., she may well have been busy when they were. Sibyls in that age had political and military value, as the Prienians found when they used the Samian sibyl in a war against the Carians.²⁹ It would be possible to connect the

²⁴ J. L. Myres, *JHS*, 26 (1906), 122ff. Cf. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2 (Leipzig, 1901), 285.

²⁵ R. S. Young, *AJA*, 61 (1957), 328 note 19.

²⁶ *RE*, 30 (1932), 1534 v. Midas. Cf. G. Knaack, *Hermes*, 16 (1881), 595. R. Burn, *JHS*, 49 (1929), 15 note 11. Hyginus *Fab.* 274. Cassiodorus *Var.* 3.51.

²⁷ Herodotus 1.14. On the early political importance of Delphi in the age of colonization see W. G. Forrest, *Historia*, 6 (1957), 160–175.

²⁸ Heraclides Ponticus (the elder) *περὶ χρηστηρίων*, ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I p. 139.48 (*FHG* 2.197).

²⁹ Val. Max. 1.5. Ext. 1, p. 24 ed. C. Kempf (Leipzig, 1888). *Sami Prienensibus auxilium adversus Caras implorantibus adrogantia instincti pro classe et exercitu sibullam eis derisus gratia miserunt, quam illi velut divinitus datum praesidium interpretati libenter receptam vera fatorum praedictione victoriae ducem habuerunt*. Despite some variant MSS the reading *sibullam* is certain.

Phrygian sibyl, and her Delphic interests in the age of colonization, with Campanian Cumae, if Aeolic Kyme could be shown to have sibylline associations of her own, thereby completing the link. Evidence that there was a sibyl in old Kyme as well as in new Cumae is not entirely lacking. The coins of Kyme show that she claimed under the Roman Empire a sibyl of her own,³⁰ but that may be mere antiquarianism. However, Varro did attempt an Aeolic etymology for the word sibyl: *σιούς, βινδήν* (Lactant. *Inst.* 1.6.7). He may therefore have supposed that sibyls originated in Aeolis. But these arguments cannot be pressed too far. They suffice to show that the eighth century B.C. sibyls were probably connected with early colonization of the West and with Phrygian maritime interests. I have sometimes been tempted to see in the paradoxical lines of the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* (109–110, p. 230 ed. Allen) an allusion to the maritime power of Phrygia in the eighth century B.C.: the line

καὶ Φρύγες, οἱ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ νησὶν ἀριστοι

referring to their prosperity, and

ἀνδράσι ληιστῆρσιν ἐπ' ἀκτῆς δόρπον ἐλέσθαι

to the terrible effects of the Cimmerian and Trerian invasions.³¹

There are a few other hints that the Phrygians used Kyme as their outlet to the Aegean. There was an *Ascanius portus* nearby, and its name, as Kretschmer saw, suggests Phrygian influence in the area.³² "Homer" was invited to compose an epigram for Midas king of the Phrygians when he was at Kyme (Ps-Herodot. *Vita Homeri* ch.11, line 132 ed. Allen), and Phrygian poetical influence on Aeolis is suggested by the career of Terpander, who lived according to Hellanicus *κατὰ Μίδαν*, early in the seventh century B.C. in Lesbos (*RE*,

³⁰ F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 20 (1897), 279 Nos. 31 and 32. Taf. x Nos. 15 and 16.

³¹ For the chronology of the invasions see now H. Kaletsch, *Historia*, 7 (1958), 25ff. Cf. H. W. F. Saggs, *Iraq*, 20 (1958), 203.

³² Pliny *N.H.* 5.121. P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1896), 206.

9 [1934], 785–6. Cf. Schmidt-Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* 1.1 [Munich, 1929], 404 note 8. F. Jacoby, *CQ*, 35 [1941], 100 note 1). The Plutarchan *De Fluviis* (7.2), calls Demodike a sister of Pactolus, a stream renowned for its gold. Possibly Midas married her as much for her riches as for her beauty. It is probable that when the Phrygians reached the greatest extent of their power in the eighth century B.C. they drew some of their wealth from the Pactolus, as the Lydians did after them. The area about Mount Sipylus was certainly in Phrygian hands at one time, as Strabo remarked.³³ He also recalled that the wealth of Tantalus came from the country about Sipylus.³⁴

Phrygian affinities with early Aeolis are also suggested by certain Aeolic features of the Phrygian language,³⁵ but since many of them are shared with Cyprian they may go back to the Mycenaean age before the arrival of the Aeolians and the Phrygians in Asia Minor. In particular the titles *φαναξ* and **λαφαγτας* may have been taken over by the European ancestors of the Phrygians in the late Bronze Age.

However, it is important not to overlook the archaic nature of early Aeolis where the ruling families claimed descent from Mycenaean heroes. Agamemnon of Kyme surely acknowledged some kinship with the great Achaean king of Mycenae, while the Penthelidae in Lesbos certainly claimed to be descendants of Penthilus the son of Orestes.³⁶ It is possible that at some time during the Dark Ages the Phrygians borrowed their Mycenaean titles from the families that claimed heroic lineage in Aeolis and preserved amidst straitened conditions the dignity of their Mycenaean forebears. In the late Mycenaean age some of the Aeolians had passed through Thrace and the Troad before settling in the coastlands opposite Les-

³³ Strabo xii.571. *τὴν περὶ <τὴν> Σίπυλον Φρυγίαν οἱ παλαιοὶ καλοῦσι.* Cf. P. Kretschmer, *op.cit.* (supra note 32) 204.

³⁴ Strabo xiv.680 ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ Σίπυλον μετάλλων ἐγένετο. ὑπὸ Σιπύλω (?) Kretschmer, *op. cit.* (supra note 32) 205.

³⁵ R. Meister, *IGForsch.* 25 (Strassburg, 1909), 312–325.

³⁶ T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London, 1958), 145. F. Cassola, *La Ionia nel Mondo miceno* (Naples, 1957), 119–121. Cf. D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford, 1955), 149.

bos.³⁷ The Phrygians themselves had passed the same way from their home in Macedonia to Asia Minor.³⁸ Therefore it is possible that the two peoples influenced each other during the period of migrations at the close of the Mycenaean age; the royal titles of the Mycenaeans could have been taken over by the Phrygians in northern Greece.

The borrowing could even have taken place earlier still. The leaders of the Phrygians were probably affected by the Mycenaeans to their South when during the late Bronze Age their people dwelt in Macedonia, long before their great migration to Asia Minor about 1200 B.C. hastened the collapse of the Hittite Empire. According to Xanthus the Lydian they crossed the Hellespont after the Trojan War,³⁹ and indeed the main migration may have occurred after the sack of Troy opened the way into Asia Minor. But Strabo claimed with reason that some of them had crossed before the war against Troy,⁴⁰ because Phrygians are found on the side of Troy in Homer; and if the story that Priam fought beside them in his youth, during their campaigns in the country about the river Sangarius, has any historical basis, they had arrived in Asia Minor long before the Achaeans attacked Troy. Konon recalled that a Midas king of the Phrygians led a migration to Mysia in Asia across the Hellespont from the country about Mount Bermion in Macedonia,⁴¹ but some Phrygians seem to have penetrated further eastwards, since according to Herodotus the Armenians were colonists of the Phrygians.⁴² His statement is possibly borne out by the appearance of a certain Mita or Midas of Pakhuwa in the mountains of Armenia well to the East of Hattusas, where he caused much trouble to the Hittites shortly before the collapse of their empire in central Asia Minor.⁴³ These scattered pieces of evidence suggest that

³⁷ Strabo xiii.582.

³⁹ Strabo xiv.680.

³⁸ Herodotus vii.73.

⁴⁰ xiv.681.

⁴¹ Konon *FGrHist*, 26 F 1.1.

⁴² Herodotus vii.73, Steph. Byz. v. *'Αρμενία* following Eudoxus. Cf. P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1896), 208.

⁴³ O. R. Gurney, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 28 (1948), 32ff. J. Garstang, *ibid.* 48ff.

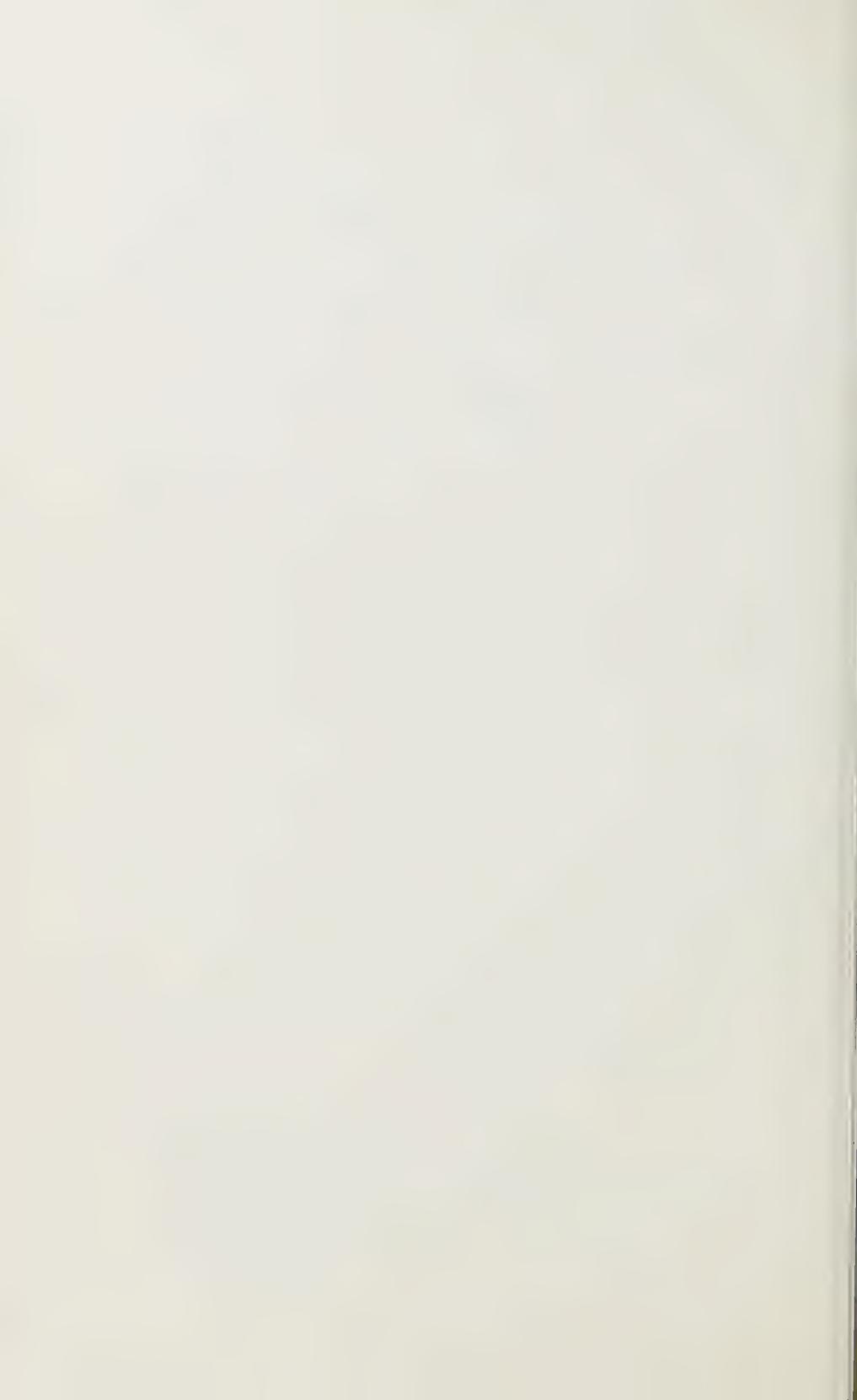
the name Midas was in use amongst Phrygian leaders as early as the Trojan War. Mycenaean influence in Macedonia in the Late Helladic III period is slight, but definite.⁴⁴ At the end of the Mycenaean period the influence is stronger. It is not fanciful to suppose that the Phrygians adopted the titles of Mycenaean princes while they still lived in Europe, whence they took them to Asia Minor. They continued to use them until the eighth century B.C. or later.

Midas, the great king of Gordion, claimed for himself the dignities of the Achaean lords of mainland Greece, who had lived half a millennium earlier. About 700 B.C. Phrygia had attained a power like that of the Mycenaean kingdoms. The old titles had lost none of their significance during the Dark Ages that had followed the Mycenaean collapse. There can be no better illustration of the continuity of tradition throughout the centuries from the Mycenaean age to the renaissance of the Aegean world in the eighth century B.C. than the ancient titles that were inscribed upon the monument of the greatest monarch of Phrygia.⁴⁵

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⁴⁴ W. A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia* (Cambridge, 1939), 231.

⁴⁵ I thank Professor Sterling Dow and Dr and Mrs Cornelius C. Vermeule for much helpful advice given when this paper was being written. Professor Hugh Hencken drew my attention to an analogous archaism in Britain after the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West: Voteporix of Dyfed was called *Protector* on his tombstone. See H. O'N. Hencken, *The Archaeology of Cornwall and Scilly* (London, 1932), 210.



MIMNERMUS AND PYLOS

G. L. HUXLEY



IN HIS *Nanno* Mimnermus of Colophon alluded to the coming of his people from Pylos, the home of the Neleids in Messenia, to Asia in ships. Having taken Colophon by force they settled there, and at a later date they captured Aeolian Smyrna.¹ In the same poem he also wrote that Andraemon a Pylian was a founder of Colophon.² Both fragments are preserved by Strabo, who used them in his account of early Ionian history.

The text of the poetical fragment is given as follows in the latest edition of the *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*:³

— υ ἐπεί τε Πύλον Νηλήιον ἄστυ λιπόντες
ἰμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηνσὸν ἀφικόμεθα,
ἔς δ' ἔρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες
ἔζόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὑβριος ἥγεμονες ·
κείθεν ἡδιαστήντος ἀπορνύμενοι ποταμοῖο
θεῶν βουλῆι Σμύρνην εἴλομεν Αἰολίδα.

No satisfactory emendation of the first line has yet been proposed. Bergk printed 'Ημεῖς δ' αἰπὺν Πύλον Νηλήιον ἄστυ λιπόντες but 'Ημεῖς is a conjecture of Xylander and seems to be without any manuscript authority.⁴ ἐπείτε is good Ionic, besides being found in F, a good manuscript of Strabo (Vat. Gr. 1329), of which Kramer wrote that it was "omnium primus nominandus" and "non unam ob causam maxime memorabilis."⁵ It is written by thirteen different hands and begins at Book XII, p. 574. Amongst the manuscripts of Strabo the authority of F stands highest, but here at least it cannot be wholly trusted. As Benedict Niese made clear in his *Emendationes Strabonianae*,⁶ the emendation of Mimnermus must begin with the correction of the corrupt words of Strabo himself that introduce the fragment. The text of F runs prose and poetry

¹ Strabo xiv.634; Fragment 9 Bergk.; 12 Diehl.

² Strabo xiv.633; Fragment 10 Bergk. Κολοφῶνα δ' Ἀνδραίμων Πύλος (κτίζει), ὡς φησι καὶ Μίμνερμος ἐν τῇ Ναννῷ.

³ Editio Stereotypa Editionis Tertiae (MCMIL) ed. E. Diehl †, Fasc. 1 (Leipzig, 1954), 53.

⁴ F. Jacoby, *Hermes*, 53 (1918), 264–265 note 5.

⁵ G. Kramer, *Strabonis Geographica*, 1 (Berlin, 1844), xx.

⁶ *Ind. Lect.* (Marburg, 1878), xii–xiii. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin, 1913), 282.

together so that it is not clear where the quotation begins:

καθάπερ καὶ Μίμνερμος ἐν τῇ Ναννοῖ φράζει μνησθεὶς τῆς
Σμύρνης ὅτι περιμάχητος ἀεὶ ἐπείτε Πύλον Νηλήιον κτλ.

Even if *ἐπείτε* is what Strabo wrote, there is no proof that it originally stood in the text of the poem. On the other hand, since the word is good Ionic it may be an ancient conjecture that found its way into the poem. It could even have come from Artemidorus of Ephesus, from whom Strabo probably took much of his Ionic history. But whatever the origin of *ἐπείτε* it is not necessary to assume that Mimnermus wrote it.

The reading in C (Parisin. 1393), a manuscript of the fourteenth century,⁷ is more promising: *αιπύ τε*. It led Hiller to the supplement *αιπεῦ(άν) τε*; against that Niese remarked that Pylos was not high but sandy, not a very cogent objection. There is no MS authority for reading *Πύλον* in the genitive and taking *αιπύ* with *ἄστυ*, either as an epithet or as the name of the Messenian Aipy found in the *Iliad*. *⟨αὐτὰρ⟩ ἐπείτε* and *⟨αιπὺν⟩ ἐπείτε* mend the line, but neither is compelling.

I shall show that a solution may be found by considering the early histories of Colophon and Messenia. At first Rhacus the Cretan ruled over the country about Colophon and the neighboring Carians.⁸ When Manto arrived with refugees from Thebes, he married her. The son of Rhacus and Manto was Mopsus, who drove the Carians away. Later the Greeks of Colophon blended peacefully with the Ionian migrants, who "plighted faith with them and lived amongst the citizens on equal terms." The kings of the Ionians were Damasichthon and Prometheus, sons of Codrus. Since Pausanias says that they were Codrids, he implies that the Ionians of Colophon came from Athens. Pausanias gives a consistent account of the early settlement of the place; he has nothing to say about an Ionian attack on Colophon. Mimnermus, however, says that his people took Colophon by force. The "we" of Mimnermus therefore cannot be the Codrid-led Ionians that came

⁷ Kramer, *op.cit* (supra note 5) xiv-xvi. E. Honigmann, *RE*, 7² (1931), Coll. 153—154, v. Strabon (*Handschriften*).

⁸ Pausanias VII.3.

from Athens. Mimnermus does not say that his people came from Athens, but straight from Pylos. There is no reason to think that he meant that his people came from Neleian Pylos to Athens and thence to Colophon; it is true that some fugitives from Pylos fled to Athens and from there colonized Ionia, but the founder of Colophon according to Mimnermus himself in the *Nanno* was Andraemon, who is simply called a Pylian. Andraemon, therefore, was the Pylian, and not a Codrid, founder of Colophon; he it was who led the people that Mimnermus claimed as his own.

The Pylians who took Colophon by force came directly from Messenia to Asia Minor. Andraemon and his followers have no part in the early Colophonian history of Pausanias, because they arrived later than the Ionians. The Codrids lived at least three generations after their ancestor Melanthus fled from Pylos to Athens in the generation of the return of the Heraclidae;⁹ and Codrid Pylians with Andraemon came from Messenia to Colophon well over a century after the collapse of the power of the Neleids. The Mycenaean population of Messenia was not immediately Dorized after the burning of the palace of the Neleids at Pylos about 1200 B.C. In the fifth century B.C. the Messenians of Naupactus spoke Doric,¹⁰ but they may have acquired that dialect in the period of Spartan domination after the first Messenian War in the second half of the eighth century B.C. It is not even certain that Dorians were responsible for the burning of the palace at Pylos. Therefore Messenia need not have been strongly Dorized until after the first Messenian War. The hymn that Eumelus of Corinth wrote for the independent Messenians in the eighth century B.C., when they were still ruled by their kings and independent of Sparta, is in Aeolic rather than Doric dialect.¹¹ Cumulatively the evidence for Messenian history between the collapse

⁹ T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London, 1958), 141–142.

¹⁰ Cf. A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (London, 1956), 64.

¹¹ Pausanias IV.33.2. *τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτῳ καταθύμιος ἔπλετο μοῖσα*

ἀ καθαρὰ <κιθάραν> καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα.

The supplement is Bergk's. On page 596 of my article *BCH*, 82 (1958), 588–601 the reference to Messenian maidens singing at Delos must be deleted. Eumelos wrote the hymn for Messenian men.

of Mycenaean Pylos and the first Messenian War shows that the descendants of the bronze-age population of the area continued to live there. From those Mycenaean survivors came the people who followed Andraemon to Colophon.

The kings of Messenia before the conquest by Sparta about 725 B.C. were called Aepytidae. They claimed descent from Aepytus king of Arcadia,¹² whose tomb was mentioned by Homer. When Andraemon left Pylos the place was Aepytian. Formerly it had been Neleian. Mimnermus, I suggest, recalled the new dynasty of Messenia in the first line of the fragment; the origin of *ἐπέίτε* and *αἰπύ τε* was *Αἰπύτιον τε*. Mimnermus originally wrote

Αἰπύτιον τε Πύλον, Νηλήιον ἄστυ, λιπόντες

thereby reminding his hearers and readers that the final masters of Colophon had left Messenia later than the Neleids, who had fled to Athens. Through the emendation the historical interest of the fragment, which had always been great, is increased. Andraemon came to Colophon and took it some time after the failure of the Neleids in Messenia. The Messenian traditions in Ionia should be a warning against putting too much stress on the part played by Athens in the Ionian migration.

Mimnermus does not say how long after their arrival the migrants from Pylos attacked Smyrna. The foundation date of Smyrna is given by the curious Pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer* as 1102 B.C. That may be near the true date, since Protogeometric and even some Submycenaean pottery has been found in the recent excavations at Old Smyrna. By 688 B.C. Smyrna had become a member of the Ionian League; an Olympic victor in that year is called an Ionian.¹³ How long before 688 B.C. Smyrna had ceased to be Aeolian is unknown; the Colophonian attack may have been made at any time between the arrival of Andraemon and the Pylians after 1100 B.C. and about 700 B.C. Herodotus (1.150) gives a brief account

¹² *Iliad* B604. Hesychius v. *Αἰπύτιον*. Hesiod, Fr. 113, ed. Rzach³ (Leipzig, 1913). An Aepytus founded Priene: Strabo xiv.633. Paus. VII.2.10.

¹³ Pausanias V.8.7.

of how the Aeolians lost Smyrna. Exiles from Colophon, having been worsted in civic strife there, were received by the people of Smyrna. Later the Colophonians shut the gates of the city against their hosts, who were busy with a festival of Dionysus outside the walls. After all the Aeolians had come to the assistance of the people of Smyrna, it was agreed that the Aeolian population should leave the city with their property. Thereupon they were distributed amongst the eleven mainland cities of Aeolis, and the Ionians of Colophon held Smyrna. Herodotus does not date the Colophonian seizure of Smyrna; but the exiles whom he mentions are surely the same people as the "we" of Mimnermus. At some period therefore in the history of Colophon, the Pylians were expelled by the earlier Codrid, Theban, and Cretan people. Since Mimnermus says that the Pylians took Colophon by force, their relations with the earlier settlers cannot have been untroubled. The Pylians were thrown out and dwelt in Smyrna. Since Mimnermus was one of the Pylians, he is called a man of Colophon and of Smyrna; his ancestors lived in Colophon, but most probably he lived in the city that they had taken *θεῶν βούλητι* — an allusion, perhaps, to the fortunate seizure of Smyrna during the festival of Dionysus.



ALCESTIS AND HER CRITICS

CHARLES ROWAN BEYE



IN THE PAST CENTURY incredibly contradictory interpretations of Euripides' drama, *Alcestis*, have come into being. Alcestis, herself, is either saint¹ or psychopath²; Admetus, a selfish coward³ or altruistic grand gentleman.⁴ The play is, on the one hand, a pastiche of rhetorical pieces,⁵ on the other, a complex of subtle and dark levels of meaning.⁶ At any rate critical comment has generally maintained that the significance of the play and so also its dramatic destination are to be found in the scene (861-961) where Admetus returns from his wife's grave to lament his error in asking Alcestis to die for him. Thus it is the king's recognition of this mistake that provides the basis for the dramatic action.

This view proceeds from the scholarly tendency to attach undue importance to an obvious *anagnorisis* and to tie up the play's loose ends at that point; and secondly, from the mistaken notion that the dramatic action visibly grows out of Admetus' original request to Alcestis; and finally, from the generally strong sympathy for Alcestis or at least her predicament and the consequent dislike of or tactful indifference to Admetus. Hence an insistence that he get his emotional deserts.

Such a view, however, produces the inevitable conclusion that the play is poorly constructed since the scenes involving Heracles do not in any way advance the plot or Admetus to a recognition of his folly. Because the hypothesis to the play calls the ending *komikoteron* (which, as a matter of fact, need mean only "relatively comic in tone" and refers at any rate only to the ending), the whole of Heracles' part — because

¹ The abbreviations by which I shall make subsequent reference to each work shall be indicated in parentheses in the first citation. F. A. Paley, *Euripides*, 1² (London, 1872): (Paley).

² D. F. W. van Lennep, *Euripides, Selected Plays, Pt. 1, the Alcestis* (Leiden, 1949): (van Lennep).

³ A. M. Dale, *Euripides Alcestis* (Oxford, 1954): (Dale).

⁴ U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Tragoedien*, 3² (Berlin, 1906): (Wilamowitz); G. M. A. Grube, *The Drama of Euripides* (London, 1941): (Grube); I. M. Linforth, "The Husband of Alcestis," *Queens Quarterly*, 53 (1946), 147-159: (Linforth).

⁵ Paley and Dale.

⁶ Wilamowitz and van Lennep.

he can be associated with comedy — is generally assumed to be a series of disengaged interludes that offer up in an otherwise somber play a humorous tone to forecast the emotion of the eventual happy ending, so-called.

Indirectly, due to a romantic attachment to Alcestis' determination to die, some critics endow her motives and behavior with a love and generosity that the play does not reveal, and this confusion between alleged motivation and verbal performance is laid at the door of rhetoric, on the theory that it does not matter what she says in the play, but what she does in the legend prior to the dramatic moment. Similarly the speeches of Pheres, the father, because they question Alcestis and her action unfavorably, are considered to be specimens of rhetorical display, not to be believed no matter how compelling their logic.⁷

But it is difficult to believe that the audience preserved such an objective and scholarly attitude toward the events they watched and the speeches they heard. It is most likely that they believed what was said and were emotionally impressed by the drama, and did not seek to go beyond the dramatic limits for explanations of that which occurred. The *Alcestis* is difficult for a twentieth century Westerner to ex-

⁷ Dale has an interesting discussion ("Characters and the Action," xxii-xxix) of characterization in tragedy. She points out the error of attempting to piece together the fabric of an elaborate personality from the scant bits of character delineation, a fault from which van Lennep's commentary suffers greatly. She then proceeds to emphasize the great importance of rhetoric in Greek tragedy with the suggestion that what the characters say is fit to the action of the drama, rather than to the author's conception of their personality. "The aim of rhetoric is Persuasion, *Πειθώ*, and the poet is as it were a kind of *λογογράφος* who promises to do his best for each of his clients in turn as the situations change and succeed one another" (p. xxviii). (For a thorough discussion of this view see W. Zürcher, *Die Darstellung d. Menschen im Drama d. Euripides* [Basil, 1947], esp. 1-42.) With this Dale removes consistency of characterization and introduces grave problems. Empathy and identification are basic to audience response; yet if they cannot connect the character with his speech, they can never identify through the characters with the thoughts and attitudes which make up so much of Greek tragedy. Again the plot structure disintegrates if the audience is asked to observe a series of rhetorical *tours de force*; it is the various characters reacting one to another which move the plot forward.

amine, for it deals in so intimate a fashion with death, a subject with which we have an emotional and unresigned relationship. Secondly, it studies a woman who agrees to die for her husband at his request; nothing in our experience prepares us for this behavior so that we are in danger of concentrating too much upon this agreement, a circumstance which occurs before the dramatic time and is not of very much concern in the play. The Athenians had the benefit of a familiarity with this legend, and if it has *märchen* origin,⁸ it can be said to be part of their folk consciousness. This familiarity removed the necessity for wondering at the act, as we immediately must do. It seems then that if we are to try to appreciate the play as the dramatist meant us to, we must become at the outset reconciled to the fact that Alcestis chose to die, in the place of Admetus, at his request.

There seems to be no reason to believe that Euripides chose to dramatize the legend as a vehicle for an idea. Clearly enough none is apparent, and equally clear is Euripides' natural curiosity in examining the way in which two people bear up under a given situation. The myth is accepted as a reality and the circumstances force decisions and reactions upon the characters. What Alcestis has chosen to do is an overwhelming sacrifice, overwhelming to the mind in almost any period of Western thought. Yet neither Admetus nor Alcestis ever discuss what motivated her to die, or him to live. We are simply met at the beginning of the play with the fact that Admetus, wanting to live, has asked various people to die for him, and Alcestis has agreed to do so. All of this could have produced in itself an extremely complex drama, but Euripides clearly wants us to ignore this background. We are in the face of a simple fact, and our attention is drawn to the response Admetus and Alcestis make to this simple fact.

The plot is first given direction in the request of the dying Alcestis that Admetus not remarry, and in his consequent avowal to remain in perpetual mourning (280ff.). This request is made all the more effective by the heavy emotional

⁸ A. Lesky, "Alkestis, der Mythos und das Drama," *Wien. S. B. phil.-hist. Kl.*, 203 (1925), 2. Abh.

and logical embroidery with which it is introduced. First, the chorus, in trying to discover whether Alcestis yet lives, outlines the physical crisis of life passing into death, which act is eternally the most exciting for mankind. Then the statement of the servant describing the queen's last private moments is a high point of pathetic narration, which serves to draw the audience's sympathies to the side of the doomed Alcestis, thus giving her dying words the greater importance. Finally, the departing woman is brought forth to die upon the stage, in itself a dramatic rarity in antiquity⁹; and her first words suggest the throes of impending death. During this episode Euripides has quite cleverly presented the queen first in the very act of dying, so that, when she speaks rationally a moment later, we can place her firmly in the context of death. It is in what she now says that the direction of the future action takes shape. The audience must then be strongly enough affected by her words now to remember them in their hearts for the remainder of the action. Surely for all times the dying speak with an authority granted to no one among the living, and here Alcestis quite carefully and exactly sets the terms of her doing. Her speech is a careful, neat study of her right to be obeyed, together with the request that her husband not remarry.

Finally Admetus is allowed to speak. By now the queen has the upper hand, and he speaks from the position of the vanquished. "It will be as you say, never fear," he exclaims (328), and proceeds to document how miserable the future years will be for him. Just how miserable is indicated by his ludicrous notion of placing a statue of her in their bed.¹⁰ His

⁹ See schol. on *Alc.* 233 (vol. 2, 224.20-21, Schwartz).

¹⁰ The statue is one of the great problems of the play to all commentators. Van Lennep, on 348ff., sees it as a psychopathic turn of mind on the part of Admetus. Dale, on 348-54, thinks ". . . Euripides' meaning is that Admetus' grief is *extreme*, not that it was *morbid* [her italics]."
She substitutes a vague adjective for a concrete one. Paley, on 348, after quoting Dindorf (*inventum valde absurdum*) says: ". . . it may be so; but few passages contain a more tender pathos. The Greeks certainly had a much deeper feeling for sculptured forms than we can pretend to realize." Such an action, I should imagine, would seem to a fifth century Greek audience either ludicrous in the extreme, or

vivid description here is important because it reveals more emphatically the direction that the plot will take. He closes upon the subject of his own death, a subject with which he becomes increasingly more involved. The poet is here introducing irony. The more Admetus talks of his own death and begins to yearn for it, the more we are made to realize that Alcestis did not give him life, but living death. In effect his agreement not to remarry is nothing more than perpetual mourning, remarriage being for a family man the only answer to a state of funereal gloom — a fact which Pheres, Heracles, and the chorus often point out. Parenthetically one can only wonder at the concept of Marriage which is evidently held by the majority of the commentators who hold this advice to be, and I quote from one of them, "solace in the lusts of the flesh."¹¹ At any rate, the chorus indicate that they will see that Admetus adheres to his declarations, and the audience thus expects to see the manner in which Admetus intends to mourn. This is the direction of the plot.

The arrival of Heracles (476) introduces an entirely new element into the story. Heracles is a guest for whom Admetus is at pains to observe the ritual of hospitality. At the same time he is involved in the ritual of mourning which Alcestis sought of him and which society in the person of the chorus expects. The crisis is reached in Admetus' remark (541) *τεθνάσιν οι θανόντες* with the implication that they cannot concern the living.

This mood continues in his speech to the servants to whom he says: "It is not fitting for those enjoying themselves to hear lamenting, nor should guests be made upset" (549-550). Here only dramatic minutes after the queen's death Admetus, in the interests of observing what is hospitably *πρέπον* has absolutely disregarded Alcestis. This violent overthrow of the direction of the plot comes as a shock, which the chorus is quick to make clear. To their objections Admetus throws up his public reputation as a host. He cannot endanger this

disgusting, which would emphasize all the more how great an obligation of mourning Admetus assumes.

¹¹ Van Lenne's note on 1087.

by rejecting Heracles at the door; he cannot even tell Heracles of his misfortune for fear the hero will go to someone else's house. He is so interested in preserving this reputation that he willingly destroys the possible intimate and honest communication he might have had with his friend, Heracles; and the hero later very strongly objects to having been treated so crudely — at line 1017 he says: *καὶ μέμφομαι μὲν μέμφομαι*.¹²

This crucial conflict Admetus hopes to compromise, trying to entertain his guest and mourn his wife at once. He intends to keep these activities separate and the audience is in suspense, waiting for them to collide. Naturally they do with disastrous results. As a consequence of the king's hospitality Heracles has grown merry, and has begun to act in a fashion that is jarring to the situation, causing the unmerited anger of the servant. This particular scene (747-802) is often called pure comedy and so held to be out of place in such a play, and offending.¹³ In reality it is obviously intended to be

¹² See also 1147-48. Dale (p. xxiii) has a lengthy statement on the interpretation of these words, where she attempts to understand them as a form of the mildest reproof. Such a meaning for *μέμφομαι* is not known to me. Again see her note on 1017, where she finds repetition not especially emphatic, but rather conversational. However in the delivery of the spoken word, where much is lost, repetition is very important, and indeed emphatic. Cf. van Lennep pp. 32-33 and on 1017. There appears to be a conflict between Heracles' statement in 857-58 and 1017—at first he praises then he blames Admetus for his act. Dale finds 857 the true statement of Heracles ("If Heracles declares privately at 857 his admiration for the noble and generous impulse . . ." xxiii). So also Grube, (p. 144). Van Lennep (p. 32) sees 857-58 as a "technical necessity . . . critical comment at this juncture . . . would be entirely out of place." Paley tends to soften as does Dale line 1017 by an amazing paraphrase of 1018 (note on 1017). Van Lennep is wrong to assume that there was no other way to solve this technical dilemma; the dramatist composes his scenes as he wishes from many alternatives. Heracles at 855-59 states objectively that Admetus has entertained him in time of trouble, being *γενναῖος*, being *φιλόξενος*. This does not necessarily imply "admiration," nor that Heracles understands Admetus' act as "a noble and generous impulse." Heracles never gives a value judgement here; he only describes. *μέμφομαι* is far more indicative. (To be sure, to be *φιλόξενος* was to the Greeks a virtue, but cf. 809 where the servant calls Admetus *ἄγαν φιλόξενος*.) His desire to return the queen could very easily spring from his friendship with Admetus, and not out of admiration for his hospitality. Cf. Linforth, p. 155.

¹³ Dale, xxi: ". . . Herakles gormandizing off stage is a stock piece of comedy and so is the assertion of hedonistic materialism in his address to

an offending scene — offensive to the servant, and to Heracles when he discovers the real situation. The discordant behavior of Heracles is the culmination of Admetus' inability to deal with human beings. He has insulted his house — we feel this in the servant's speech (who at 809 says: *ἄγαρ ἐκεῖνός ἐστ' ἄγαρ φιλόξενος*) — and he has put Heracles in an embarrassing position.

Concerned with the ritual of being host, the king does not care about mourning for Alcestis, albeit he goes to bury her with the necessary funeral rites; for, as the servant points out, Admetus denies those in the house who must serve the guest the natural expression of their grief, and he himself, in his moments of hospitality, can put aside casually his own feeling. And Admetus certainly does not care about Heracles' feelings. He sees him only as a guest, not as a sympathetic friend. In so doing he truly insults him, which perhaps engenders the latent resentment of Heracles which seems evident at the close of the drama in the cat-and-mouse game that is played with Admetus' feelings.¹⁴ The present scene then reveals what Admetus' conflict between host and mourner means in human terms. In the final scene (1008ff.) between Admetus and Heracles, the king can no longer put off the consequences of this irreconcilable conflict; it is Heracles who forces this upon him by requesting, as Admetus' guest, that

the servant." But as she well points out, on 754-55, "So each motif of the traditional burlesque can be modified to suit this context." Cf. van Lennep, on 779, who finds this scene not funny. For Grube (p. 131) the scene is "pure comedy," to which he adds (p. 141): ". . . the introduction of the comic at this point may well have shocked the Athenian sense of propriety." To shock and offend is exactly what Euripides is trying to achieve here, and immediately the context removes the comic nature of the scene. This is similar to the first scene of Tennessee Williams' *Glass Menagerie*, in which the viciously sarcastic remarks of the narrator are drained of their humor by the miserable situation into which they are cast.

¹⁴ Van Lennep, on 1075, sees this "elaborate teasing" as a delight for the audience. Grube (p. 144) can say: ". . . when he is disturbed by this woman's likeness to his wife, we have pure comedy, for he is afraid of falling in love with the stranger." Only in the most formal sense could this scene possibly be considered to partake of the comic, for in its context this teasing is a dreadful trial for Admetus.

the king keep a young maiden for him while he goes about his labors. The young girl is in all ways a threat to the mourning husband. First she is a personal threat, I think, to his determination of celibacy; for note his attention to her physical person, and his concern for the effect she will have upon the young men of the house in lines 1050, 1061-63, and 1051-54. She is a threat also to his public repute as a mourning husband (1057-1059), and, what is strange, he fears reproach from his dead wife, for whom, he says, it is necessary to have respect.

The stichomythy between the two finds Heracles suggesting all the usual forms of consolation, all of which Admetus rejects, resolutely purposing to mourn forever, here echoing his much earlier resolve which he had voiced to the dying Alcestis. Here again we are back in the original direction of the plot. This is the mourning husband, and as such, the king cannot accept the girl into the house, an act which is in itself completely neutral. But yet he does accept the girl, in the face of Heracles' projected displeasure, for he cannot risk, ironically enough, the offended guest. So in the presence of the live guest, the living need of being host conquers the mourner's role. Euripides makes Admetus' surrender complete by Heracles' insistence that Admetus take the young girl by the hand, and by Admetus' compliance, albeit grudging, with this demand. Thus, the original direction of the plot passes through suspenseful moments, and is finally overthrown, and it is a matter of interest that the obligation to mourn which was taken on in a prolonged and strongly emotional setting is renounced for the obligation of being host which was virtually assumed without dramatic cause.

This reversal is carefully prepared by Euripides so that there will be no undue strain on the credulity of the audience. Most specifically in Admetus' encounter with his father, Pheres, (614ff.) and in his lament following the funeral (935ff.), is the mourning obligation loosened. The appearance of Pheres is marked with interest because all persons in the play have continually rebuked him for not wanting to die, not, as the critics so frequently assume, on moral grounds,

but entirely for the practical reason that being well past the age for begetting children, he has nothing to live for. The father's opening speech is brisk and content; Pheres is a practical man: he speaks to his son of the necessity of enduring discomfort; he speaks of the benefits he has received from Alcestis' death, that is, that he will not have a childless old age. He says that she has given all women something of which to be proud. He concludes his first speech by asserting that if marriages were not profitable, there would be no point in marrying. Pheres pointedly alludes to the practical gains which Alcestis' death has brought him, and it compels us to look for Alcestis' altruistic motive in what she did, and to ask what benefits she expected to confer, a subject to which she never turned. Again we realize the fact that Admetus, who must have had some compelling reasons to go on living, never mentions them. And so, confronted with Pheres' natural and enthusiastic appraisal of Alcestis' death, we are aware of the fact that her death and Admetus' continuance of life have produced nothing of worth for the two most vitally affected. It was an empty gesture in terms of altruistic purpose. In Admetus' answer we find that his father's realistic discussion has forced a measure of rationality on the son, who proceeds to attempt feebly to sum up reasons first why his parents would not die for him, and second why they ought to have done so. His remarks are foolish and magnified as such in the dignified reply of the old man. In this speech Pheres stresses that he is a free man, and that he has fulfilled all the duties of a parent. But as a man he has as much right to life as any other. "You were born to be lucky or unlucky in terms of yourself, alone," he says (685-686); that is, your fate is your own. He states nicely the consequences of being a free man when he says: "Don't you die for me, any more than I would die for you" (690). Pheres here demonstrates that a man has only a part of himself in a function, in a role (which in this case is that of a parent), and that, as a free man, he, the person, is something greater. The cool and composed tone of his speech in part dispels the heavy emotion that has been earlier accumulating. The actions of Alcestis and Admetus, stripped

of their superficial emotion, lie bare, needing new interpretations, new evaluations, and Pheres verbalizes the underlying significance of what has gone before. His son he calls a coward (697-702), and Alcestis he calls witless, *ἀφρων* (728). Euripides, by softening with these words the importance of Alcestis' death, has provided the balance necessary for the final conflict between the host and mourner which is soon to confront Admetus.

Pheres' set speeches, strong in argument and forcefully declared, are two to his son's one; in every sense the old man has the final word; and it seems as though the prevailing truth were Pheres', that the death of his daughter-in-law were on shallow foundation, of little consequence. The critics, however, while accepting Pheres' criticisms of Admetus, reject the validity of his arguments in their entirety on two unlikely bases: first, because he is a despicable character and second, because what he says, although convincing and forceful, is a rhetorical piece.¹⁵ Beneath these lurks the rigorous denial of any adverse criticism of Alcestis or her death which would

¹⁵ For a compelling view of the pivotal importance of the Pheres scene see Linforth, who can say, (p. 159): "Pheres alone tells the truth." Nevertheless the import of his words is easily denied. Dale, on 697, can say: "There is no doubt that he [Pheres] wins on points with this superb speech . . . not that Euripides approves of the old rascal . . . but the plot requires that Admetus should be defeated here, so that when his temper has cooled he shall realize what the ill-disposed can make of this situation." The inorganic nature of this scene had been assumed already by Paley (p. 251): "The dispute between Admetus and Pheres is calculated, as Hermann observes, and as was very probably designed, to please a contentious and law-loving audience." So van Lennep on 694ff. All feel contempt for Pheres, best expressed by van Lennep on 685: "A fascinating maxim revealing Pheres' almost sublime egotism and perhaps something, too, of the fundamental bitterness of Euripides' outlook on life." Such an opinion stems from Judaeo-Christian thinking; we are not *a priori* our brother's keepers. Grube (pp. 129-130) suggests a practical reason why Pheres was in the wrong, because he should have wanted to preserve the dynastic royal line. But Euripides does not introduce that into the play; also, would that have been a compelling or understandable reason to a democratic, fifth century Athenian audience without a good deal of substantiation? For the belief that Pheres is realistically human cf. G. Cammelli, *Alcesti* (Firenze, 1946), xiv.

upset the common conception of the play and her position therein. Pheres is despicable to them because he refuses to die for another man, although to me there is no warrant in the play, or in Greek thinking, for the belief that such a position is morally untenable. In a situation peopled essentially with shabby characters, Pheres hardly seems conspicuously evil. The charge of rhetorical coloring of his speeches carries with it the tacit assumption that what is rhetorically developed is not to be believed. It is an unlikely audience that would hear and absorb the compelling arguments of Pheres, and in the face of the faltering rejoinders by the son, reject the old man's reasoning because it was possessed of rhetorical flourishes. Rather it is reasonable to assume that Pheres causes the queen's death to appear meaningless, and therefore weakens the force of Admetus' obligation to her.

On a more emotional level this idea is developed during Admetus' lament following the funeral, where he is found delivering speeches that are savagely ironic. Savage, because he now longs for death which in prior time he so studiously avoided, and yet, since we do not know why he wanted to stay alive, we have nothing with which to balance his new desire to die. Here we have the *anagnorisis*, but an interesting one it is. For Admetus pictures life ahead as the barren, joyless one it will be, and realizes that it will not be a life worth living. But, as to facing the cowardly act of allowing his wife to die for him, which his father has forced him to think about, he cannot say with true responsibility, "this I did, for this I am accountable." Indeed, he says instead: "He who is my enemy shall say 'There is the coward who gave his wife to Hades instead of himself'" (954-957). This brings forth two observations: first, it is the public recognition of his cowardice which moves him, who is ever conscious of his outward public appearance, and second, he limits such an estimation of cowardice to his enemies alone. Thus he has far removed himself from seeing his own responsibility in the situation, refusing to examine whatever is human in him. His very deep regard for his public role come through in the last three lines of his speech (959-961): "Now in addition to all my other

troubles, I shall have this ill fame; so really, friends, what's the good of living with misery and a bad reputation?"

But it is in the queen's person and in her statements early in the play that this reversal is subtly prepared. It is also in understanding her scene correctly that one is able to comprehend the creation of Admetus as the principal sympathetic figure in this drama. The dramatist limits the dramatic action to the day of her death, thus ignoring Admetus' original dilemma and his wife's decision to die for him. By so doing he strengthens definitely the position of Admetus, for we are thus not in position to see the possibly ignoble request of the king, nor be moved to admiration for the actions of his sacrificing wife. All of this is prior to the dramatic moment, and if the drama is compelling, the audience will not have the time to speculate on prior events.¹⁶

When first the serving girl portrays Alcestis to us (152ff.), what do we learn that the queen is doing in those last few moments alone? She prays to the goddess of the hearth for the welfare of her children, and she addresses her bed in a tender and moving farewell. Interestingly enough she at no time mentions Admetus as an object of her concern. The man for whom she is supposedly taking this action fails to come into her consciousness. Again it is interesting that at no time later does she express her feelings as much to her husband as she does here to her bed. (Incidentally to the bed she says that she did not want to betray it, and that she does not hate it. Of course, in so saying, the possibility of doing so is thus emplanted in the audience's mind.)

What Alcestis did as the servant narrated it, and what she says finally to Admetus on stage have occasioned a great deal of comment. And that is because in these two instances alone

¹⁶ The time element between Admetus' knowledge of his imminent death Alcestis' agreement to die for him, and the time setting of the play cause the commentators concern, e.g., Dale, pp. xvi-xvii; van Lenne, pp. 7-9, also his notes on 9, 13, 147, 158 and *passim*. Wilamowitz (pp. 86-87) develops out of this his theory that Alcestis' evident resentment toward Admetus represents the resentment of the Mother paying for the Bride's oath. The fact of the matter is that Euripides does not mention the time element, so that it would never come to the mind of the audience.

her character is exhibited to us. What she says can be noted in detail, why she says it can be conjectured, and in conclusion one can observe certain simple facts that would come across to the audience. Her request to Admetus is obvious and no one would miss that; it is indeed the point of her speaking. But to look further, we cannot escape the fact that her expressions of concern are limited always solely to her children, and since they are of no importance in the play we can and do ignore them. For Admetus, on the other hand, she has no endearing words, no expression of future happiness, only mistrust, and coldness; and this is important.

In this speech (280ff.) Alcestis begins by strengthening her right to demand, in observing the expanse of her sacrifice. Incidentally she indicates here briefly a possible motivation for her action; namely the difficulty of rearing fatherless children, and the fact that she has nothing left of youthful enthusiasm (287-89). This is altogether rather world-weary and strikingly devoid of any feeling for Admetus.

She also indicates her narrow concept of the scope of human activity when she insists that Admetus' parents had every reason to die for him since they had already borne a son, and were beyond the age of child-bearing, all of which implies that their existence had no other meaning. This attitude is answered by the old father himself later on.

Having established her claim to be obeyed, she proceeds to lay down the charge, namely that Admetus is not to remarry. Here again we see that she fails to put this into the perspective of herself and Admetus, or Admetus alone, but limits it to the welfare of the children. They must be masters, she says, in *my* house (304). The children then will be the living symbol of the promissory note. Having just asked Admetus not to remarry, she addresses her daughter as though he undoubtedly would, picturing to herself the misery that would ensue for her child. When the queen paints the ugly future which Admetus is bound to produce, the loyalty and faith between the couple become at best very dubious. She describes in compelling phrases the misery that he will cause; and this veiled reproach, coupled with the absence of any en-

dearment, emphasizes the sterility of their relationship. Throughout this portion of the play there is a verbal theme played out in *προδίδωμι*,¹⁷ which bears the double meaning of *to desert* and *to betray*, which highlights the exceptional demands that the king and queen are placing upon each other.

Alcestis finishes her request with an insurmountable statement: "It is for you, the husband, to boast that you had the best wife, and for you, O children, that you were born of the best of mothers" (323-325). She is in every way the best and can have no successor.

One may wonder why Admetus wanted to stay alive and how he got up the nerve to ask Alcestis to die for him. But these are puzzlements which Euripides does not wish us to consider and he has purposely left them outside the drama. We are made to see, however, the lifeless and selfish grounds upon which Alcestis chose to die, and her obvious disregard for Admetus, as well as his for her. Indeed Admetus' pathetic farewells to his wife relate only to what she is doing to *him* by departing. She has just doomed him to an empty existence. It may be asked whether or not life is not worth living simply to be able to enjoy sight, color, and sound. But for a man in middle years probably the family habit constitutes living. In the case of death the old truism, as we have earlier pointed out, is most valid: time and a new wife heals all. Admetus has been forced to disown any replacement to stabilize human relationship, and he has been forced to see reared up forever and ever in his house the eternal memory of the best of women.

The character of Alcestis is given little delineation and she is hard to understand. In terms of the plot structure she provides the motivation for her husband's conflicting sentiments in his treatment of Heracles. As a dying woman she attempts to create a posthumous future by attending to her children's welfare, and by denying her husband any substitute for herself. It is notable that she never speaks to Admetus in affectionate terms, and that her determination to die was not

¹⁷ Lines 180, 202, 250, 275, 290.

the most conflict in regard to her person is that narrated by for his benefit. The episode which produces for the critics the slave. Here she prays for her children, and says farewell tearfully to her bed, and makes no mention of Admetus. One is led to wonder whether the farewell to the bed, her only moment of tenderness, is to be understood as a symbol of a tender, loving farewell to her husband. Since she manages in speech to separate the two quite distinctly, and since her subsequent speeches to him are indifferent,¹⁸ if not slightly hostile, the answer, it seems, must be *no*. Then what, we may ask, does she mean by bidding the bed farewell in so intimate and emotional a fashion?

The queen was the bed partner of the king and the bearer of his children. In fulfilling these roles she found her expression, and these are primarily connected with the royal bed. There is no suggestion of a relationship of personalities between Admetus and Alcestis, such as between Jason and Medea. Their contact was limited to duty or function; her role was in the bedchamber. Then again Alcestis' criticism of her husband's parents springs from the same mentality. Their roles as parents were fulfilled; they might as well, or better, have died. That they as individual human beings might have enjoyed life never occurs to her.

Perhaps she as a person is resentful of her limited position, and in her deathbed request she is able to force herself upon Admetus in a way that she has never been able to do before. This psychological position is common in Euripides, so many of whose plays do take up the mystery of rejection, and the resentment born of it, especially in the souls of women.

In regard to what has been said the objection can well be raised that this sort of analysis requires a great deal of subtle interpretation on the part of the audience, and so it does. Primarily such things come to the attention of the student of the printed page. But the audience would notice

¹⁸ Her language makes clear that she sees the bed and her husband as two separate entities; 178-181, ὡ λέκτρον . . . τοῦδ' ἄνδρος . . . προυδοῦναι γάρ σ' ὀκνοῦσα καὶ πόσιν . . .

that the dying Alcestis was in no way concerned with the effect that her death will have upon her husband, other than it will be a strong deterrent to his remarriage. His future welfare does not interest her. All in all there is a strong suggestion of a cold relationship throughout the early portion of the play; this much any audience could sense.

Many critics have noticed and remarked upon this estrangement between the royal couple, suggesting innumerable reasons for it, some of them rather fancy; or they have sometimes denied it, as Gilbert Murray does,¹⁹ in his translation of the play, by inserting into her speeches fabricated terms of endearment. Usually it is suggested either that the playwright is hiding her true feelings beneath the rhetorical mask, or that any allusion to concern or affection for one's husband in public was not *πρέπον* for tragic ladies. The critics operate on the assumption that although she may not demonstrate a lover for her husband at this point, the fact that she agreed to die for him proves this love.²⁰ Here again they go outside the drama to establish an unverbalized meaning for an important portion of the play, something the audience has not the time to do.

Why Alcestis speaks as she does is dramatically beside the point, because in the play she does not figure dramatically except to make a request and to die. But it is important to realize that the dramatist has removed from consideration the queen's possible love for her husband. There are two excellent reasons for this; first, to allow Admetus to gain some of the audience's sympathy from the start, which otherwise might have gone totally to the queen, and secondly, so that her request and his vow will be made against the forceful and emotional backdrop of her death, a strong yet not invincible lever on his actions. If instead, the queen had made her demand amid protestations of love and consideration for her husband, clearly revealing her sacrifice, in the warmest possible sympathetic tones, Admetus would not have been accept-

¹⁹ Noticed by Grube, p. 14

²⁰ Dale (p. xxvi) goes outside the spoken lines into her own logic to say: "Of course, she loves Admetus—what else made her die for him?"

able to the audience, and his future actions would have been emotional bond of altruism cementing her request and his weighed in his and the audience's mind with the personal vow. On the contrary, it is the force of this death, not the force of love which directs him, and the death can be made to lose its validity. As it is, he is made to seem an isolated figure beset with a conflict not of his own making, the demands of the dying, the demands of the guest.

As a conclusion to the play, Heracles reveals that the veiled figure is Alcestis and the outlines of the myth are brought full close. Euripides has chosen to present Alcestis as speechless, which is generally considered to be the only possible tasteful procedure. Yet Euripides has stressed by this speechlessness the absence of communication and feeling between the two which was marked before. Instead of creating a scene of joyous, intimate and personal exclamations between the united couple, he has exhibited only silence.

The verdict is that neither Admetus nor Alcestis are very attractive people. Why that is so probably stems from the fact that no deeply feeling, moral people could establish such a contract between themselves. Admetus was selfish to ask Alcestis to die for him; she was selfish to use her death on him in the way that she did. Certainly Admetus emerges as the protagonist, first, as has been pointed out,²¹ because he takes the far greater number of lines. In addition Euripides has so arranged the materials of the myth as to give to the king the center field of action. Admetus seems to be presented with forces and conflicts which have their motivations outside the drama; that is to say, because there is excluded from the drama until the Pherec scene all but the most perfunctory references to Admetus' original dilemma and request, we first come to know the king beset with the powerful obligation on the one hand to mourn the dying wife, and on the other to entertain the visiting guest. The drama is his resolution of the conflict that they bring him.

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²¹ Linforth, p. 148



SOME PASSAGES OF EURIPIDES'
HECUBA IN THE LIGHT OF
NEW TEXTUAL RESEARCH

ANTONIO TOVAR



FOR THE PROFANE who think that in classical studies nearly everything has already been achieved, and that we can quietly rest on the sure results won by our predecessors during many centuries, it must be a surprise to learn that the science of manuscripts or codicology is a new one¹ and that the attempt to trace the textual history of an ancient author is scarcely older than the present century. The oldest *stemma codicum* ever drawn is still not a hundred years old.

In fact there is still much to do to establish a readable text of the most important ancient authors. By readable we mean a text which is founded not only on a complete recension of manuscripts, but also on the knowledge of textual history throughout the centuries. No branch of tradition must remain unclassified behind a text based on an incomplete exploration. This is, at present, a duty imposed upon philologists by the mere existence of modern methods.

I shall attempt to show here how a fundamental study devoted to Euripides' manuscripts² can affect the text of a tragedy, and do so even though the standard edition, that of Gilbert Murray, is unanimously acknowledged to be an excellent work.

The fact that the tragedy we choose for our analysis, the *Hecuba*, belongs to the so-called Byzantine triad, that is, to the most repeated group in all extant manuscripts, makes our task easier. The tragedies of the triad are those to which Professor Turyn has devoted most careful attention in his book.

Let us examine some characteristic passages of this work in which the value of the famous manuscripts L and P, considered as the best from the first edition in the Renaissance until that of Kirchoff (1855), with a later reaction in favor of them initiated by Wilamowitz and sustained by the authority of G. Murray,³ decays still more when we can, thanks to the research of Turyn, know the manuscript tradition better.

L and P are under the influence of late Byzantine scholar-

¹ See for instance H. Hunger, *Gnomon*, 30 (1958), 285.

² A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides* (Urbana, 1957).

³ Euripidis fabulae, ed. Murray, (Oxonii, 1902). See I, ivf.

ship, especially, as we can check, in the triad (*Hec.*, *Orest.*, *Phoen.*), and even when they both agree, they do not prove anything, because as Turyn says,⁴ "the evidence of L and P for the text of the triad is deprived of value, except for scattered peculiarities which throw subsidiary light on the diffusion of some rare readings of the old tradition."

Turyn is inclined to think⁵ that the source from which L and P were copied was related to a manuscript of the "complete" Euripides (as we possess him) owned in the twelfth century by the Homeric commentator Eustathius. We can add as proof some coincidences between quotations of this author from *Hecuba* and P and/or L readings: 260 ἀνθρωποκτονεῖν P (errore ex Σ, as Murray points out) and also Eustathius; 421 ἄμμοροι LPMS Eustathius; 786 λέγεις LP and Eustathius; 996 τοῦ πλησίον P and Eustathius. The "Eustathius manuscript" is undoubtedly of the same type as the "complete" manuscripts L and P, and probably was either the original from which these were copied or a brother of it.⁶

In this case, and against the present day slogan *recentiores non deteriores*, the fact of the posteriority of LP as compared with M or B, is still a proof of their inferiority.

Be that as it may, the old reputation and authority of the manuscripts L and P have lasted into the Murray edition, as will be shown by the few passages which we shall now reexamine.

Line 88 *Κασάνδρας* read all the manuscripts except P; notwithstanding, most of the editors (Nauck, Kirchhoff, Paley, Murray but not Méradier) accept the reading of P, *Κασάνδραν*. The reason for the correction in P is clearly given by a Byzantine scholium: εἶπε δὲ ψυχὴν Ἐλένου ἐπειδὴ τεθνηκὼς ἦν, *Κασάνδραν* δέ, καὶ οὐ *Κασάνδρας*, ἐπειδὴ ζῶσα ἦν. It is evidently the pedantic spirit of a late Byzantine scholiast who here speaks, most probably the same grammarian who has influenced P.

135 οὗνεκ' MBAV: εἰνεκ' LP. Murray says in his preface:⁷ "οὗνεκα non mutaui in εἰνεκα nisi unius saltem libri auctoritate." But it is just in cases like the present one that the authority of

⁴ *op.cit.* p. 303.

⁵ *ibid.* p. 305.

⁶ *ibid.* 305f.

⁷ Eurip. fab. I, p. x.

L and P is to be disputed: could they in this case represent the genuine tradition? Not necessarily so, since inscriptions show the use of *οὐνεκα* instead of the preposition *ἐνεκα*.⁸ Kirchhoff and Méridier wisely read *οὐνεκα* in this line.

256 *φροντίζετε* LP: *γιγνώσκετε* MA. The replacement of *γιγνώσκετε* is due to the wish to avoid the repetition of the verb after the *γιγνώσκουσθε* of the previous line, but it emphasizes much better the hate that Mecuba feels for demagogues:

μηδὲ γιγνώσκουσθέ μοι,
οἱ τοὺς φίλους βλάπτοντες οὐ γιγνώσκετε!

As I have shown in two other instances,⁹ it is important not to be misled by pleasure in variation. Although B is presented in this passage by Méridier as a support of *φροντίζετε*, we know that this codex has been supplemented in this part with a Moschopulean text.¹⁰ It is therefore certain that the reading *φροντίζετε* is an interpolation by Byzantine scholars.

820 *τί* MB: *πῶς* ALPb. Here again we decide against LP, although they are accompanied by A. But even the presence of this manuscript¹¹ in the group LP can be proof of the corrective character of *πῶς* instead of *τί* in order to avoid the sequence *τί . . . τις* at the distance of three small words in the same line.

853 *χάριν* MBA *γρ. l: δίκην* LPΣ *et marg. A²*. Here again the coincidence of LP is what makes the reading *δίκην* suspect, although this is accepted by all recent editors: Kirchhoff, Nauck, Paley, Murray, Méridier. While it is true that the expression *δοῦναι δίκην* at least once (Aeschylus *Suppl.* 703 *δίκας ἀτερ πημάτων διδοῦεν*) it means "to grant arbitration," it is generally used to signify "to suffer punishment, make

⁸ K. Meisterhans and Ed. Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*⁸ (Berlin, 1900), 215-17.

⁹ On *Bacch.* 1152 in *Homenaje a Rodolfo Oroz*, *Bol. de Filol. de la Universidad de Chile*, 8 (1954/5), 461f., and on *Androm.* 1171f. in *Gymnasium*, 63 (Heidelberg, 1956), 80f.

¹⁰ Turyn *op.cit.* p. 88.

¹¹ Turyn *op.cit.* p. 89 has established the position of this manuscript: the codex A "occasionally follows in the triad some Moschopulean elements," although "in its basic stock MS. A carries an old tradition. . . ."

awards," which is quite unsuitable here. For δοῦναι χάριν we can compare Aeschyl. *Prom.* 821 ἡμῖν ἀν̄ χάριν δὸς ἦνπερ ἡτούμεσθα and Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1489f. ἀνθ' ὅν ἔπασχον εὖ, τελέσφορον χάριν δοῦναι σφιν, ἦνπερ τυγχάνων ἐπεσχόμην. The favor that Agamemnon would wish to grant to Hecuba, provided that he can avoid arousing suspicion that he is doing so for Cassandra's sake, is that of permitting her to have her will against the Thracian host:

καὶ βούλομαι θεῶν θ' οὖνεκ' ἀνόσιον ξένον
καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τήνδε σοι δοῦναι χάριν.

Here δοῦναι governs two accusatives: ἀνόσιον ξένον and τήνδε χάριν. The fact that two lines below the verse finishes again with the word χάριν invited Byzantine scholars to seek a *uariatio* in style, and at the same time an easier reading. But τήνδε χάριν here is the χάρις alluded to in line 830.

943 *Διοσκόροιν* MBA: *Διοσκούροιν* LP. The corrector of this late branch of tradition could not be prevented from changing this word by metrics in a seemingly indifferent point, but it must be recalled that *Διόσκοροι* is the Attic form, assured by the iambic metre in other passages of our poet (*Hel.* 1644, *El.* 1239). This case shows clearly how the reading of LP can be, against the other evidence, the result of correction.

990 σέθεν λέγεις MBAP: λέγεις σέθεν L. The preference given by all the editors (except Kirchhoff and Paley) to the reading λέγεις σέθεν is only a consequence of the old recognized authority of L or P. The order εὖ καξίως σέθεν seems preferable, and as we have reason to doubt the value of L, nothing justifies maintaining L's reading against that of all the rest of the codices.

In all the passages so far examined it cannot be said that only a prejudice against L and P has led us to prefer the readings of the other branch of the tradition. Linguistic and literary arguments confirm the interpolated character of L and P and lead us again to the position of Kirchhoff: in nearly every passage I find myself agreeing with him. This does not mean that in philology scholars do Penelope's work. If Kirchhoff acted in reaction against an opinion accepted for many cen-

turies, we can boast of a more complete knowledge of the Euripidean manuscripts and their relations. For the first time A. Turyn has followed the labyrinthine history of the whole of these manuscripts. We have only given a proof of the possibilities he has offered for making the text of the third Greek tragedian more accurately readable.¹²

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¹² I express my thanks to my colleague Professor D. Larkin of Univ. Nac. de Tucumán for his revision of the English text.



A BYZANTINE
PANEGLYRIC COLLECTION
With an Unknown Homily
for the Annunciation

MORTON SMITH



THE MS HEREIN DESCRIBED is now in the collection of Brown University. It is said to have been purchased in Athens shortly after the Second World War. Otherwise, its provenience is unknown. If the number on the binding (see p. 141 below) is a library number the codex must have come from a large collection.

Sixteenth/Seventeenth Century, paper, 200 x 145 mm., 373 folia (numbered 15–350, 356–392), single columns, 20 lines per page.

15r–18r: Exaltation of the Cross, Philotheus of Constantinople, 'Ἐπειδὴ τῆς πρώτης καὶ θείας (conclusion only).

18v: Exaltation of the Cross, Andrew of Crete,¹ Σ(ταύ)ρου πανήγυριν.

29r: Christmas, Chrysostom, Παράδοξον μυστήριον καὶ ξένον.

41r: Christmas, Chrysostom, 'Οπόταν ἀπὸ χειμῶνος κρυεροῦ.

5 50r: Epiphany, 'Η γινομένη οἰκονομία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φιλανθρώπου θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν ἄνον.

61r: Epiphany, Gregory the Thaumaturge, "Ανδρες φιλόχριστοι.

70r: Jn. Baptist, Chrysostom, 'Ιωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ πανήγυριν.

80v: Publican, Chrysostom, Καθὼς ὅταν συνδράμουσι σύγνεφα (!).

86v: Prodigal Son, Chrysostom, Πάντοτε μὲν τ(ὴν) φιλαν(θρωπ)ίαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

10 98v: Presentation, Πάσα δεσποτικὴ ἔορτὴ καὶ πανήγυρις.

105r: Veneration of the Cross, Chrysostom, 'Ασμα καινὸν ἀς ψάλλωμεν.

122v: Annunciation, Chrysostom, Βασιλικῶν ἀδελφοὶ μυστηρίων ἔορτήν.

130r: Annunciation, Τῇ δεσπόνη μον τὸν πόθον ἀποδιδούς.

137v: Lazarus, Chrysostom, Πᾶσα μὲν ἐν θ(ε)ῷ διδασκαλίᾳ ἔχει.

15 146v: Palm Sunday, Chrysostom, Τύρα τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἔορτῆς προλάμψουσι.

157r: Monday of Holy Week, Joseph Ephraim, 'Ο θ(εὸ)ς τοῦ Ἀβραάμ.

186r: Repentance and the 10 Virgins, Chrysostom, "Αρα γε γινώσηστε (!) πόθεν.

201v: Wednesday of Holy Week, Anointing, Chrysostom, 'Αρκετῶς ἡμᾶς.

220v: Betrayal and Passion, Chrysostom, Στυγνὴν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βλέπω.

224r: Good Friday, Passion, Chrysostom, Τὸ χρέος τοῦ ἔχθεσινοῦ ταξίματος.

231r: Resurrection, Chrysostom, 'Ανέστη τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

239v: Thomas, Chrysostom, 'Ηλθα ἵνα ἀποδώσω τὸ χρέος.

¹ The attributions in this table of contents — except for the first — are those made in the MS. The identification of the first homily, now akephalos. I owe to the kindness of Fr. F. Halkin.

249v: The Women with Myrrh, Καὶ ἡ παροῦσα κυριακή.

257r: Paralytic, Πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν.

25 269r: Samaritan Woman, Καὶ τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν ἀναβλύξει εἰς ἡμᾶς ἡ πηγή.

283v: Mid-Pentecost, Chrysostom, "Οπου καὶ ἐὰν ὁ δεσπότης πορεύεται.

287v: Jn. Theologian, Chrysostom, Συνεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀγαπητοί.

290r: Blind Man, Τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ καὶ σ(ωτήρ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ διδάσκοντος.

299v: Ascension, Chrysostom, Χαριέστατον εἰς ἐμένα τὴς ἐκκλησίας τὸ θέατρον.

30 304v: Ascension, Chrysostom, Λογαριάζοντας ἐγὼ ἀκόμι κατὰ ψυχήν.

311r: Pentecost, Τρεῖς ἑορτὰς ἑώρταζον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.

324v: Birth of the Baptist, Chrysostom, Ἐπιτηδίου καιροῦ ἡμέρα ἑορτῆς.

338v: Transfiguration, "Ολλες (!) μὲν αἱ δεσποτικαὶ ἑορταὶ.

350r: Transfiguration, Chrysostom, Ἐλάτε φίλοι, σήμερον.

35 360v: Dormition, "Ωσπερ παράδεισος ἄλλος.

370r: Herodias' Dance, Chrysostom, "Ωσπερ τις ἀνὴρ φιλέρημος.

378v: Beheading of the Baptist, Chrysostom, Πάλιν ἡ Ἡρωδίας.

387v: (Sept. 23?) Conception of Elisabeth, (Chrysostom),² Οὐδὲ ἔνα εἶναι ἀνυπότακτον εἰς τοὺς δεσποτικοὺς ὄρους.

As will have appeared from this table of contents, the writer used relatively few contractions. Terminal abbreviations (which I have not indicated) are much more frequent. The writing is evidently hasty and the simplification of letters into ligatures is frequent and extreme. The writer has occasionally omitted words and has added them, and made other corrections, in the margins. Iota subscript is regularly omitted; the customary confusions of vowels are not rare. The hand is large (averaging 6 lines to 5 cm.) and, in spite of the ligatures, clear; the lines are level and evenly spaced, the margins are straight and wide (25 mm. inside margin; the top, bottom and side margins were wider; although they have been trimmed they are still 25 mm. or more). The paper is heavy, smooth and a pale cream in color (originally it was probably white); the ink is very black. Some capitals in the text are in red; the initial capitals of the sermons, also in red, are elaborately

² The section of the text which contained the attribution has been lost, but enough remains to show that an attribution was made, and it was almost certainly to Chrysostom.

floriated by a skilful hand. The book was undoubtedly written to be read in church services. The titles of the sermons are regularly followed by $\epsilon\nu(\lambda\gamma\eta\sigma)\sigma\nu\pi(\acute{a}r)\epsilon\rho$, occasionally (sermons 13, 14, 17, 27, and 30–38 incl.) by $\epsilon\nu(\lambda\gamma\eta\sigma)\sigma\nu\delta\acute{e}s\pi\sigma\sigma\tau\alpha$. The difference in the use of these titles does not seem to correspond to any probably difference of source, nor to any likely ecclesiastical usage; therefore it suggests that the book was written for a church where a bishop was frequently, but not constantly, present.

The pages are arranged in quaternions, which are not numbered. The first of those now preserved, ff. 16–21, has lost its outer sheet. This loss took place prior to the numeration of the folia, which is in a nineteenth century hand and an ink now faded to grey (except for ff. 15 and 380–92, of which the upper outside corners, bearing the first numeration, have been lost; these have been renumbered on the outside margins, by a more recent hand). At the front of the codex the top of f. 15 has been lost, ff. 16–30 have been damaged at the tops by water and considerable pieces have been lost from 16–23, inclusive. At the back of the codex, from f. 366 on, the tops of the pages, also watersoaked, are beginning to disintegrate; from 368 on, pieces of the text have been lost. The last of the preserved pages shows the text ending, with a tapered series of lines, in the center of the page. Elsewhere, such endings are always at the bottom of the page, so this was probably the end of the collection. Beside occasional small mistakes in numeration (123 for 122v, 115 for 315), the numerator omitted nos. 351–355 inclusive (the text shows no break). The present binding — better, the recent binding, for it is now a loose wrapper — is leather, the stamping on it almost indecipherable and the tops of both front and back panels rotted away. It was not the original binding, as shown by the fact that the pages have been trimmed. On the inside margin of the front panel is written in black ink, "N 940," possibly, but not certainly, by the same hand which numbered the pages.

Each page on which a sermon began carried in the middle of its top margin an annotation, by the writer of the text,

giving the number of the sermon. The first of these annotations now preserved is on the top of 29r: $\lambda\circ\gamma\circs\Delta$. Therefore the preserved text begins with the end of what was originally the second sermon, and there were 39 sermons in the collection. The collection is clearly of Erhard's panegyric type A³ — that is to say, it begins with the fixed feasts at the beginning of the liturgical year and sandwiches in the moveable feasts at places corresponding to the approximate times of their occurrence. In particular, it goes from September 8th to August 29th, has some 20 texts for moveable feasts, and puts Lazarus after the 25th of March, which is typical of the A group; the only irregularity is no. 39, for the 23rd of September, but that is a supplement.⁴ In contents it reflects also, principally, the panegyric collections. It has not been influenced by the Metaphrast and it shows none of the post-Metaphrastic texts listed by Erhard⁵ as characteristic of the contaminated or expanded Metaphrast or of the later menologia and collections of panegyrics which are independent of the metaphrastic tradition. Nor has it any important tie with the pre-metaphrastic homilaries. What relations it does have with the other one-volume collections listed by Erhard are best indicated by the following tables, of which the volume and page numbers refer to the volumes and pages of Erhard.⁶

ALten JAHRessammlungen (I.154ff.)

MS: Athens 1027, pp. I.155ff.	
Jslm. Patr. 6, pp. I.175ff.	
Saloniki Blt. 7, pp. I.185ff.	
Bodl. Bar. 180, pp. I.191f.	
Taurin. gr. 80, pp. I.195f.	

SERMONS COMMON

4 out of 77
5 out of 118
2 out of 51
1 out of 27
2 out of 23

³ A. Erhard, *Überlieferung u. Bestand der hagiographischen u. homiletischen Literatur der gr. Kirche* (Leipzig, 1937—), Texte u. Untersuchungen, 50-52.

⁴ These observations I owe to Fr. F. Halkin, who also suggests comparison of the MS with Parisinus 1190 (16th century) in Erhard, II.57.

⁵ III.333ff. and 514ff.

⁶ Whenever possible, references are to the page on which begins the table of contents of the MS containing the similar material. I have not tried to note every appearance of the commoner sermons, but only their occurrences in those MSS which had several points of contact with this collection.

ALTEN PANEGYRIKEN (II.3ff.)

Scor. gr. 236, pp. II.4ff.	8 out of 50
Mosq. gr. 215, pp. II.6ff.	6 out of 71
Patmos 190, pp. II.10f.	3 out of 20
Athens, Syn. 108, pp. II.18f.	3 out of 45
Paris gr. 1179, pp. II.24ff.	4 out of 47

PATRIARCHALHOMILIAE VON KONSTANTINOPEL

(HOMIL. II), (III.559ff.)

composite list pp. III.559ff.	6 ⁷ out of 57
Andros, Hagias 1, pp. III.571f.	4 out of 10 ⁸

Analysis of these relationships yields the following:

⁷ This supposes that no. 21=the homily by Philotheus of Constantinople which our MS uses for the Exaltation of the Cross. See Erhard, III.572, note 2.

⁸ 10 is here the number of sermons over and above those from the composite list referred to previously.

Occasion	SERMON	SAMMLUNGEN	PANEGYRIKEN	HOMILIAR
Exaltation	'Επεδὴ τῆς πρώτης Σταύρου πατήγηντιν	1.191	III.559(?) 571	III.559(?) 571
Exaltation	Παράδοξην μυστήριον	_____	II.4,6,24 &c. ⁹	_____
Christmas	Οπόταν ἀπὸ Χειμῶνος	_____	II.4 &c.	_____
Christmas	Ἡ γανομένη οἰκονομία	_____	II.24	_____
5 Epiphany	*Ανδρέας φιλόχριστοι	_____	III.571	III.571
Epiphany	Τιωδόντον τοῦ Β.	_____	II.4,6 ¹⁰ &c.	_____
Jn. Baptist	Καθός ὅταν συνδράμοντι	1.185 &c.	_____	_____
Publican	Πάροτε μὲν τὴν φιλαν.	1.155,185 &c.	II.24	_____
Prodigal	Πᾶσα δεσποτική ἔρητή	_____	III.4,18,24 &c.	_____
10 Presentation of C.	*Ἄσμα καίνον	_____	III.571	_____
Veneration of C.	Βασιλικῶν . . . μιστηρίων	1.175	_____	_____
Annunciation	Τῇ δεσπότῃ μον	_____	II.6,10,18	_____
Lazarus	Πᾶσα μὲν ἐν θεῷ	_____	II.4,6	_____
15 Palm Sunday	Τῷρα τῆς δεσποτικῆς	_____	II.4 &c.	_____
Joseph	Ο θεὸς τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ	_____	II.10	_____
Ten Virgins	*Ἄρα γε γνωστήτε	_____	_____	_____
Anointing	*Ἀρκετῶς ἡμᾶς	_____	_____	_____
Betrayal	Στιγμὴν τὴν ἐκληροτιαν	_____	_____	_____
20 Good Friday	Τὸ χρέος τοῦ ἐχθρονοῦ	_____	_____	_____

⁹ “&c.” in this table indicates that the sermon is found in other collections of the same type, but with so few parallels to the present MS as to seem unworthy of inclusion in the table.

¹⁰ In II.4 this sermon is attributed to Gregory of Nyssa.

The numerical predominance of the panegyric collections in this table is reenforced by the fact that one-volume panegyric collections of types other than A yield parallels to four more sermons (nos. 17,¹¹ 18,¹² 21,¹³ and 37¹⁴). Further, all the other one-volume collections listed by Erhard yield parallels only to two sermons not paralleled in the above list or in the panegyric collections just mentioned.¹⁵ But in the second half, although the arrangement is still that of the panegyrics, the sermons come principally from the early Sammlungen and the late homiliary; here the panegyrics have contributed only a few sermons and those only for comparatively unimportant feasts.

It might be suggested that the principal parent of our anthology was a collection of Chrysostom's sermons, since most of the sermons are represented as Chrysostom's. (Of those for which parallels have not already been adduced, no. 7 = Montfaucon, 1st Venice ed., II.805; 11 = M. XI.820; 19 = M. X.738; 27 = M. X.771.) However, of the 24 sermons attributed to Chrysostom, 20 appear in M. as spuria. Therefore it seems more probable that Chrysostom has been added to the collection than that the collection came from his works.

Identification of the sermons in the collection is made particularly difficult by the unreliability of its textual tradition, which is often marked by considerable adaptation of the wording to the forms of Modern Greek. The following is a list of the incipits from Erhard and Montfaucon which differ from those given in the table of contents above:

3 Μνστήριον ξένον καὶ παράδοξον.	9 Ἀεὶ μὲν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φ.
4 Ὁπόταν ἐκ.	10 Πᾶσα ἐορτὴ καὶ π. δ.
5 Transposes γινομένη οἰκονομία to the end of the phrase.	11 Dl. ἀς and read, for ψάλλωμεν, ἀσωμεν.
8 Καθάπερ νεφῶν συνδραμούντων.	14 Πᾶσα ἔνθεος διδασκαλία.

¹¹ Erhard II.67.

¹² Erhard II.76, attributed to Amphilius of Iconium.

¹³ Erhard II.70, attributed to Eusebius of Alexandria.

¹⁴ Erhard II.63.

¹⁵ Viz.: 20 in III.203, attributed to "Bishop Eusebius," and 38 in III.443 and 493 (in the latter, for September 23).

15 **Ηδη τῆς δεσποτικῆς πανηγύρεως.* 29 *Φαιδρόν μοι τὸ τῆς ἐκκλ.*
17 **Αρα οἴδατε πόθεν.* 30 **Ετι μοι κατὰ ψυχήν.*
18 *Ικανῶς, ἡμᾶς.* 32 *Εῦκαιρος ἡμέρα.*
19 *For βλέπω, read ὁρῶ.* 33 *Πᾶσαι.*
20 *Τῆς χθὲς ὑποσχέσεως.* 34 *Δεῦτε ἀδελφοί.*
22 **Ηκω τὸ χρέος ἀποδώσων.* 37 *For δαιμονίζεται, read μαίνεται.*
25 *Καὶ σήμερον ἡμῖν.* 38 *Οὐδὲν τοῖς δεσποτικοῖς.*
26 **Οπου δ' αὐτοῦ.*
28 *For διδάσκοντος, read διαλεγομένου.*

I have not been able to identify no. 13, and therefore print its text here.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



BYZANTIUM: THE SOCIAL BASIS
OF DECLINE IN
THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

SPEROS VRYONIS, JR



THE ELEVENTH CENTURY was a particularly critical period for both Byzantine and Islamic society, for the appearance of the Saljuk Turks in the Near East at this time profoundly affected both societies. In the year 1055 the Saljuk prince Tughril Beg entered Bagdad with his army where he was received by the khalifah, and soon after succeeded in resurrecting the Islamic Empire on a Turkish basis. In 1071 his successor Alp Arslan inflicted upon the Byzantine Empire the crushing defeat at Manzikert in Asia Minor. This marked the collapse of Byzantium as a great political power and the beginning of the Turkification of Asia Minor, the cradle of the future Ottoman Empire. Thus the appearance of the Turks in the Near East resulted in the re-invigoration of the political forces of Islam and accelerated the decline of Byzantine political power.

How is one to explain the sudden and complete collapse of Byzantium after the disaster at Manzikert? Byzantium had suffered severe military disaster in the past and yet had survived. The battle itself had occurred in the easternmost reaches of Asia Minor, far removed from the heart of the empire. But ten years after the battle of Manzikert, in 1081, on the accession of Alexius Comnenus, the condition of Byzantium contrasted sadly with its position in the early eleventh century, when it had been without a doubt the most powerful, the wealthiest, and the most civilized state in all of Christendom. On the death of the emperor Basil II in 1025 its boundaries stretched from the Euphrates to southern Italy, and from the Danube to the islands of Crete and Cyprus. The imperial treasury was full, and commerce flourished. The revival of classical art and learning had already gotten well under way in the tenth century, and the conversion of Kievan Russia to Orthodox Christianity had brought greater glory and influence to Byzantium. Thus the collapse of the Byzantine Empire in the latter half of the eleventh century seems startlingly complete and unexpectedly rapid.

A number of scholars have examined the course of Byzantine decline in the eleventh century and have clearly outlined its general path. They have described in detail the degeneration of the ruling dynasty; the absorption of the free peasantry by the great land owners; the diminishing of gov-

ernment revenue through grants of *pronoia, excuseia, charistikia*; the granting of privileges to Venetian traders; the debasement of the coinage; the sale of offices and farming of taxes; the civil wars; and finally the ethnic-religious difficulties.¹ There can be no doubt that all of these phenomena had dire consequences for Byzantium, but it can be argued on good grounds that two of these problems, the civil wars and the ethnic-religious difficulties in the provinces, were the key developments which led to the collapse of Asia Minor in the face of the Saljuk invasions and the resultant humbling of Byzantium from its position of power and glory.

The civil wars in Byzantium during the eleventh century took on the aspect of a contest for supreme power between the bureaucracy and the army, and all the grandes of the empire took one or the other side in consonance with their interests. This struggle between the bureaucracy and the army had set in shortly after the death of Basil II when the succeeding weak rulers turned the direction of affairs and power over to the bureaucrats. Gradually their predominance in affairs of state became so overwhelming that the officers of the army were not only subordinated in all important matters, but severely persecuted by confiscation of property, exile, blinding, and execution. This persecution of the military aristocracy, coupled with the lack of an established succession,

¹ There is a considerable body of literature on the eleventh century, the important items of which are the following: N. Skabalanovich, *Византийское государство и церковь в XI веке* (St. Petersburg, 1884); P. Charanis, "The Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh Century," *A History of the Crusades*, I. ed. M. Baldwin (Philadelphia, 1955), 177-219, where one can find the lastest bibliography on the subject; R. H. J. Jenkins, *The Byzantine Empire on the Eve of the Crusades* (London, 1953), a short work but with remarkable insight into the internal evolution of Byzantine society; C. Neumann, "La situation mondiale de l'empire byzantin avant les croisades," *Revue de l'orient latin*, 10 (1905), 57-171; J. Hussey, "The Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh Century: Some Different Interpretations," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 32 (1950), 71-87, is very provocative and stresses the important cultural achievements of the eleventh century; G. Schlumberger, *L'Epopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, 3 (Paris, 1905); C. Cahen, "La campagne de Mantzikert d'après les sources musulmanes," *Byzantium*, 9 (1934), 613-42.

presented both the instigation and the opportunity to the ambitious soldiers.

The socio-economic aspect of the civil war comes boldly into relief when one examines closely the make-up of the military and bureaucratic parties.² The military aristocracy consisted of the great landowning families commanding the armies in the provinces. By the eleventh century many of these families had acquired a long and glorious tradition which made of them a highly articulate and proud aristocracy. The most important group came from Anatolia and numbered about twenty families. The oldest of these, the Botaniates family, seems to go back to the late sixth century, while the bulk of these families from Anatolia had already risen to great prominence by the ninth century, the most important being the families of Phocas and Sclerus. The great wars in the east at the end of the tenth century added five more families, including those of Comnenus and Diogenes, while the addition of three more families in the eleventh century rounded out the ranks of the Anatolian aristocracy.³ All twenty of these families, without exception, are prominent in the armies when they first appear in the sources.

There was a parallel development in the western provinces, though here the aristocracy developed on a much more limited scale. By the ninth century there appears in the sources a clearly formed aristocracy centering about the families of Rentacius, Tessaracontopechys, Bryennius, Choirophactes, and Monomachus. This was enlarged in the tenth century by the five new families of Tornicius, Taronites, Curticius, Vatatzes, and Glabas. There was a great disparity between the eastern and western nobility and the Anatolians

² For the make-up of these two social groups and for what follows on the families see the unpublished Harvard dissertation, S. Vryonis, *The Internal History of Byzantium during the Time of Troubles (1057-1081)*, (1956), 172-287.

³ The families which had emerged by the ninth century were those of Phocas, Maleinus, Ducas, Argyrus, Sclerus, Musele, Botaniates, Melissenus, Tzimisches, Curcuas and Melias. By the end of the tenth century appeared the families of Bourtzes, Comnenus, Diogenes, Dalassenus, and Cecaumenus, while the families of Synadenus, Maniaces, and Palaeologus appeared in the eleventh century.

were highly conscious of their superiority, manifesting it on several occasions. Important factors in this disparity were the fact that Asia Minor could furnish unlimited land for the formation of great estates, and at the same time Asia Minor was more difficult to control than was the European section of the empire. Also the constant invasion of Bulgars and Patzinaks into the European provinces must have had some disrupting effect on land tenure.⁴

The sources of power of these great aristocrats were of course two, the huge landed estates which they possessed and their official positions as generals of the provincial armies. One family very often possessed vast lands in several different provinces, as in the case of the Maleinus family with its properties in the themes of Charsianon, Anatolikon, and Optimaton. One of these properties was over seventy miles in length and supported the entire army of Basil II at one point during his campaigns in the east. Thus it is obvious what the sustaining potential of these estates was, and the nobility not only possessed a great source of revenue but could and did support large private armies. This combination of estates and official military command was a dangerous threat to the central government.

Though this aristocracy was of a mixed ethnic background, including Greeks, Armenians, Bulgars, Georgians, Arabs, Italians, and Vlachs, eventually the non-indigenous elements were Byzantinized and absorbed. Amongst them arose a sentiment of nobility by birth, and a solidarity of feeling resulting from close intermarriage within the group. In general they were anti-imperial but not separatist, that is they generally aimed at replacing the ruling dynasty with their own family, rather than setting up independent states. In the tenth century their energies had been largely harnessed by the central government in the eastern wars against Islam. However, even in the tenth century they had been difficult to control. As the source of their wealth was land, their appetite for land was insatiable, and in the tenth century they had begun to absorb the free peasantry and peasant soldiery, the

⁴ Vryonis, *op.cit.*, pp. 172-287.

source of the empire's financial and military strength. Here the government had only limited success against the magnates in its program of agrarian legislation.⁵

It is this landed military nobility which the bureaucrats or civil aristocracy attempted to control in the eleventh century, at first successfully, but finally giving in to their superior power. The civil aristocracy is somewhat more difficult to describe or define as it was not so homogeneous a group as its opponents the military aristocracy. This group consisted largely of the prominent families of Constantinople in the bureaucracy, such families as Monomachus, Argyrus, Ducas, and Cerularius. In addition this civil aristocracy included those persons of humble origin, such as the eunuch John Orphano-trophus and Philocales, who had been able to ascend the *cursus honorum* to the higher administrative posts. A third and new group which gave the civil aristocracy its peculiar appearance in the eleventh century was that of the professors and graduates of the refounded University of Constantinople. This group was made up of men, such as Psellus and Xiphilinus, for whom education was the key to a highly successful government career.⁶

The source of power of the civil aristocracy was the control of the imperial administration and finance, control of the capital city itself, and control of the imperial armies stationed in Constantinople. One readily sees how by this antagonism between the urban bureaucratic aristocracy and the provincial military aristocracy the energies of the Byzantine state were to be harnassed to a highly destructive and exhausting civil war. The two groups were extremely conscious of the struggle for power in terms of the civil and military elements, and each looked upon the other with great hatred

⁵ G. Ostrogorsky, "Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire," *The Cambridge Economic History*, 1 (Cambridge, 1942), 194-233. His views are somewhat altered in, "Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine" (Brussels, 1956). P. Charanis, "The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 4 (1948), 53-118.

⁶ For the refounding of the University of Constantinople and its personnel see J. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire 867-1185* (London, 1937), 37-88.

and contempt. Psellus clearly distinguishes these two groups throughout his chronicle as $\tauὸ\ πολιτικὸν$ and $\tauὸ\ στρατιωτικὸν$.⁷

The bureaucrats had great contempt for the rudeness of the provincials, considering them unintelligent boors. Psellus takes particular delight in describing the lack of education of these soldier-emperors by comparing them to his own highly educated person. In one of his letters the philosopher describes his brilliance with characteristic immodesty.

The Celts and Arabs came under our sway, men from the other continent journeyed here because of the report of our fame. And as the Nile watered the land of Egypt, so our discourses refreshed the soul. And if you happen to talk with Persians or Ethiopians, they will say that they know and admire me, and have come in pursuit of me.⁸

The greatest moment of influence which Psellus and the bureaucrats enjoyed came when Psellus' pupil, Michael VII, ascended the throne in 1071. And of course Psellus had succeeded in communicating to his imperial pupil a great concern for literary form and composition. The military reaction against the over-refined manners of the court is sarcastically reflected in the chronicle of Cedrenus-Scylitzes.

(Michael Ducas) busied himself continuously with the useless and unending study of eloquence and with the composition of iambics and anapests; moreover he was not proficient in this art, but being deceived and beguiled by the consul of the philosophers (Psellus), he destroyed the whole world, so to speak.⁹

Cecaumenus, the prototype of the rough but vigorous provincial magnate, exhorts his son:

Do not wish to be a bureaucrat, for it is not possible to be both a general and a comedian.¹⁰

The civil wars between the bureaucratic and military parties were renewed with particular violence over the im-

⁷ Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, 2 (Paris, 1928), 83, 86. Cedrenus-Scylitzes, *Historiarum Compendium*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 (Bonn, 1839), 634.

⁸ C. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 5 (Paris, 1876), 508.

⁹ Cedrenus-Scylitzes, II.725.

¹⁰ Cecaumenus, *Strategicon*, ed. Vasilievsky and Jernstedt (St. Petersburg, 1896), 20. See also pp. 8-9, 20, where he castigates the bureaucrats.

perial succession after the death of the last Macedonian in 1056. This lasted until the soldiers completely prevailed with the victory of Alexius Comnenus in 1081, success having alternated between both groups in the intermediate years.¹¹ In the civil strife and internal upheaval two other social groups clearly emerged as important factors, namely the church and the Constantinopolitans. Both soldiers and bureaucrats were anxious to secure the support of the church and of the capital's populace, and well they might have been. For the combination of these two, church and people, was responsible for the violent deposition of three emperors (Michael V, Michael VI, Michael VII). As a result the church received numerous concessions and the patriarch attempted to assert the supremacy of sacerdotium over imperium. This was the first appearance of the idea of the Donation of Constantine in Byzantium. The Constantinopolitans resumed political behavior of a nature recalling the violent disturbances in Constantinople of the fifth and sixth centuries. Their political activities seem to have centered in the guilds and corporations. They became such a powerful force in eleventh century politics that the emperor Constantine X Ducas attempted to obtain their support by admitting a great host of artisans and craftsmen into the ranks of the senate.¹²

During these civil wars arising from the contest for imperial power, the total energies of Byzantium, political, military, social, religious, economic, were completely absorbed and wasted at a time when the Normans, Patzinaks, and Saljuks were establishing themselves on the borders.¹³ The participants in the civil wars eventually came to rely on these

¹¹ The accession of Isaac Comnenus, Romanus Diogenes, and Nicephorus Botaniates represented victories for the militarists, while the accession of Constantine Ducas and Michael Ducas represented temporary victories for the bureaucrats.

¹² Vryonis, *op.cit.*, pp. 51, 288-314. On the Constantinopolitans see also A. Rudikov, *Очерки византийской культуры по данным греческой агиографии* (Moscow, 1917), 120.

¹³ On these, F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 1 (Paris, 1907); V. C. Vasilievsky, „Византия и печенеги,” *Труды*, 1 (St. Petersburg, 1908), 1-175; J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs seljoucides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081* (Paris, 1913).

foreigners for support in their factional strife, calling them into the empire and actually turning over considerable territory to them. The soldiers, of course, made use of the armies in the civil strife, and on the occasion of each revolt all the armies were removed from the frontiers and led to Constantinople. Consequently the borders were left unguarded, and in addition the armies themselves were subjected to intentional and systematic neglect. Inasmuch as the provincial armies were the main strength of the magnates of Asia Minor, the bureaucracy, and particularly Constantine Monomachus and Constantine Ducas, began to dismantle them. The general anti-military feeling became such that according to the contemporary sources,

. . . the soldiers themselves, abandoning their weapons and the army, became lawyers and keen followers of legal questions and problems. . . . The army was unarmed and depressed because of the lack of pay and provisions; and only the barest section of it was present, for the bravest part of the army had been removed from the army cadasters. . . .¹⁴

The armies had been diminished already by the magnates' absorption of the free peasant soldiery throughout the eleventh century, but the effect of this process was not as widespread nor as decisive as was the studied bureaucratic program of demilitarization. The central government now came to rely more and more on foreign mercenaries, who brought with them the double liability of extremely high military expenditures and decreased loyalty of the armies. The Greek sources give a bewildering list of nationalities in the Byzantine armies of the eleventh century: Russians, Koul-pings, English, Normans, Germans, Bulgars, Saracens, Alani, Georgians, Turks, Patzinaks, Armenians, Albanians, Scandinavians.¹⁵ And it came to pass that Byzantium suffered almost

¹⁴ Cedrenus-Scylitzes, II.652; Attaliates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1853), 79.

¹⁵ G. Rouillard, and P. Collomp, *Actes de Lavra* (Paris, 1937), 83, 111; Attaliates, pp. 9, 18; Cecaumenus, pp. 95-6, exhorts the emperor to dispense with the foreigners and to depend more closely on the Greeks. So aggravated and widespread was this evil that the Muslim opponents of Byzantium were

as much at the hands of the mercenaries as at the hands of the Turks.¹⁶ The Norman mercenaries Roussel and Crispin were almost successful in establishing a new Normandy on the northern coast of Asia Minor in the very face of the Turkish invasions.¹⁷ With the disbanding of the indigenous armies, entire provinces were deprived of military defense, and the mercenaries were sufficient only for the border areas themselves. But even here it became painfully evident that Byzantium had not sufficient forces to fight on more than one frontier at a time, so that when the empire was faced by Normans in Italy, Patzinaks on the Danube, and Saljuks in Asia Minor, it could not oppose its enemies simultaneously on all three fronts.

The second great problem facing Byzantium in the eleventh century arose from its nature as a polyglot or multi-national state.¹⁸ Alongside the Greek element there were Slavs, Albanians, Vlachs in the European provinces; Latins, Jews, Syrians, Muslims, Armenians in the capital; Armenians, Syrians, Kurds, Jews, Georgians in Anatolia. And though the Orthodox Christians were in the majority, there were con-

clearly aware of it, as is evident from the Arabic sources. Al-Bondârî, *Histoire des Seljoucides de l'Irâq*, ed. M. Houtsma (Leiden, 1889), 29; *wa'l-rûm fi thalâth mi'at alf wa-yazidûna mâ bain rûmî wa-rûsî wa-ghuzzî wa-qafjâqî wa-kurjî wa-abkhâzî wa-khazari wa-faranjî wa-armani.*

¹⁶ On the difference in pay between native and foreign troops see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis Aulae Bizantinae*, ed. J. Reiske and I. Bekker, 1 (Bonn, 1829), 655ff.

¹⁷ L. Brehier, "Les aventures d'un chef normand en orient au XI^e siècle . . . Roussel de Bailleul," *Revue des cours et conférences*, 20 (1911/12), 172-188; G. Schlumberger, "Deux chefs normands des armées byzantines au XI^e siècle: sceaux de Hervé et de Roussel de Bailleul," *Revue Historique*, 16 (1881), 289-303.

¹⁸ On the problem of ethnography see C. Cahen, "Le problème ethnique en Anatolie," *Journal of World History*, 2 (1954), 347-62; P. Charanis, "On the Ethnic Composition of Byzantine Asia Minor," *Προσφορὰ εἰς Στιλπωνία ΙΙ. Κυριακίδην* (Thessaloniki, 1953), 140-47; J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204* (1939); F. Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1910); M. Gyoni, "L'Oeuvre de Kekaumenos, source de l'histoire roumaine," *Revue d'histoire comparée*, 23 (1945), 96-180; also the numerous articles of N. Adontz on the Armenians.

siderable numbers of heretic Bogomils¹⁹ in the western provinces and Monophysites and Gregorians in Asia Minor. The ethnic-religious problem was most pressing in Asia Minor in the eleventh century where the eastward expansion of Byzantium had brought within the empire large numbers of Armenians, Syrians, and Georgians. Of these only the Georgians were Orthodox, while most of the Armenians and Syrians had not accepted the Council of 451 at Chalcedon.

We do not know nearly as much as we should like about Byzantine Asia Minor, and this is particularly true concerning ethnic, religious, and linguistic problems. It has been maintained by a number of scholars that Asia Minor fell with such astounding rapidity to the Turks because the population had only been touched by a thin veneer of Hellenism or Byzantine civilization, and as a result the provincials were never assimilated. They were largely indifferent to the concept of the Byzantine Empire. As is the case with most generalizations, this statement errs in oversimplifying. For here we are dealing with an area of land which is larger in extent than modern France, and while it is true that large portions of Asia Minor were non-Hellenic, yet Asia Minor was the source of the spiritual and physical strength of Byzantium and the Orthodox Church during the reign of the Macedonian dynasty and its predecessors. It was from Asia Minor that came the leading lights of the Eastern Church, hosts of saints and patriarchs, imperial dynasties, the great aristocratic families, and the peasant soldiery. So that in one sense Asia Minor was the cradle of the Byzantine Empire's strength. It would be more nearly correct to say that while eastern Asia Minor was out and out Armenian, Georgian, Kurdish, Syrian, etc., western and central Asia Minor to the province of Cappadocia was greatly influenced by Hellenism. While it is true that colonies of Armenians and Jews were to be found in western Asia Minor, and colonies of Greek Orthodox in the eastern part, one may divide Asia Minor into Greek and non-Greek at Cappadocia. It was because of the conflict between the ethnic and religious groups of Asia Minor, rather than because of the absence

¹⁹ D. Obolensky, *The Bogomiles* (Cambridge, 1948).

of a Greek ethnic group that the Byzantine collapse in Asia Minor was accelerated.²⁰

The Armenians, located as they were in eastern Anatolia, had long been the bone of contention between the two great powers on their east and west. A gifted and courageous people they had vigorously resisted absorption by Byzantines, Sasanids, and Muslims, but at best their political position had always been precarious. The increase of internal strife amongst them and the expansion of Byzantium in the east during the tenth and eleventh centuries resulted in the wholesale incorporation of Armenian lands by the Byzantines. In the year 968 Taron was annexed, in 1000 Taiq, in 1021 Vaspuracan, and in 1045 Ani. The displaced Armenian princes were now given other lands within the empire at Lycandus, Cappadocia, Tzamandos, Kharsianon, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia. With these princes there came tens of thousands of Armenians as immigrants who now altered the ethnic and religious composition of these provinces. This, of course, led to bitter strife with the Greek Orthodox population already in the area.²¹

The central government in the eleventh century made strenuous but short sighted efforts to assimilate the Armenians and the Syrian Monophysites of the eastern provinces by forcing ecclesiastical union upon them. This religious tension, centering about the Council of Chalcedon and the nature of Christ, probably had more immediate disastrous results for Byzantium than did the split with Rome in 1054.

The persecution of these eastern subjects of the empire was renewed in 1029-30 when the Byzantine government summoned the Syrian ecclesiastics to appear before the synod in Constantinople. The Greeks failed to enforce union on the Syrians and the Jacobite patriarch was exiled to Macedonia. The newly elected Syrian patriarch as a result now fled the

²⁰ J. Laurent, "Les origines médiévales de la question arménienne," *Revue des études arménienes*, 1 (1920), 35-54.

²¹ Tournebize, *op.cit.*, pp. 118-126; R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris, 1947), 493, 531-5, 553-5, 547-80. For the Chalcedonian Armenians in eastern Asia Minor, the so-called Tzatoi, see the interesting article of I. Doens, "Nicon de la Montagne Noire," *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 134.

Byzantine Empire and henceforth took up his residence at Amida amongst the Muslims, where he would be free of the imperial authorities. This was followed by a persecution of the Syrians, particularly in the cities of Antioch and Melitene. At the same time, the transference of the Armenian Catholicus from Ani to Sebasteia after the cession of the kingdom of Ani to Byzantium brought the Armenians in for their share of imperial coercion. By 1040 the situation between Greeks and Syrians in the city of Melitene had become so tense that the patriarch in Constantinople issued a pronouncement on matters of inheritance in mixed marriages between Orthodox and Monophysites and on the testimony of Monophysites in court. These rulings of course favored the Greeks and constituted substantial limitations on the basic rights of the Syrians.²²

The attempt to force union on the Syrians and Armenians reached a climax during the reign of Constantine X Ducas. In 1063 an edict was issued ordering all those who did not accept the Chalcedonian faith to be driven out of the Byzantine city of Melitene, and a few months later an order was issued to burn the holy books and the holy mysteries of the Armenian and Syrian churches. In 1064 the Syrian patriarch, Athanasius, was taken, along with his bishops, and imprisoned in the residence of the Greek metropolitan of Melitene. Then five months later they were ordered to proceed to Constantinople, Athanasius dying on the way. Among those led to Constantinople was his nephew Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene. Here he was accused of spreading Monophysite propaganda, and when in defining his confession of faith before the synod he refused to recognize the council of Chalcedon and the two

²² V. Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, 1.2 (Paris, 1956), 253-5, 258; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, transl. J. Chabot, 3 (Paris, 1906), 140-5, 160-1. Michael, III.280, mentions that when the Byzantine general Maniaces took the city of Edessa the Syrian Christians fled along with the Muslim population from the advancing Greek army. Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique de 952 à 1136*, transl. E. Dulaquier (Paris, 1858), 95-8. The most detailed information is to be found in the Greek sources edited by G. Ficker *Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites* (Kiel, 1911), 8-42. Assemani, "Joannis Abdon Vita ex Michaele Episcopo Taneos," *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 2 (Rome, 1721), 150.

natures of Christ, he was exiled to Mt. Ganos in Macedonia for three years. In 1060 Khatchik II, the Armenian Catholicus, and several of his bishops had also been summoned to Constantinople where they were held virtual prisoners until 1063. In 1065 the emperor ordered not only the Armenian ecclesiastics to present themselves at the court in Constantinople again, but this time he ordered also that the Armenian princes, Adom and Abouahl Ardzrouni, should be present. These two princes were shortly joined by Kakig Bagratouni, the former king of Ani, who put an abrupt end to the theological discussions by refusing to adhere to the ecclesiastical union.²³ And though the Armenians seem to have been allowed to withdraw from the capital, they were no less embittered than the Syrians by the harsh treatment which they had received at the hands of the Byzantine clergy and emperor. In fact when the Bagratid prince Kakig returned to his estates in Cappadocia he began a persecution of the Greeks by slaying the metropolitan of Caesarea. The Armenian chronicler Matthew of Edessa records that the Armenian prince had the Greek metropolitan put into a sack with his large dog (nicknamed Armen because of the Greek's hatred for the Armenians) and had his men beat both the metropolitan and the animal until the enraged dog killed its master. After this the estates of the metropolitan were pillaged, and Matthew of Edessa relates that Kakig had the wives of the leading Greek nobles violated by his men. The Armenian chronicler adds that Kakig intended to desert to the Turkish sultan, however he was eventually slain by the Greek family of Mandale (Pantaleimon ?) in what had become virtually open warfare between the two peoples.²⁴ Some five years later when the emperor Romanus IV Diogenes passed through these provinces the Greeks complained to him that they had suffered more at

²³ Grumel, *op.cit.*, I.3.18-21. The Georgian monk George Mthatsmidel participated at this synod, M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 1 (St. Petersburg, 1849), 340; Peeters, *Histoires monastiques géorgiennes, Analecta Bollandiana*, 36-37 (1917-19), 136ff. Matthew of Edessa, pp. 133-52, gives a long account of the theological points of dispute between Greeks and Armenians. Michael the Syrian, III.166-8.

²⁴ Matthew of Edessa, pp. 152-54, 183.

the hands of the Armenians than at the hands of the Turks. Because of this Romanus is reported to have sworn the destruction of the Armenian faith, and to have licensed his troops to sack the city of Sebasteia, new home of the Ardzrouni family. Further, the Greek chronicler Attaliates remarks that Romanus Diogenes had been forced to be extremely cautious to protect his troops so that they might not perish at the hands of the Armenians while marching in the eastern provinces.²⁵

It is obvious what the exacerbated state of relations between Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians was. Michael the Syrian, a Monophysite, gives us an accurate picture of the latter's sentiments.

The Greeks renewed their bad habits and began to persecute tyrannically the faithful (in Syria, Palestine, Armenia, and Cappadocia). Thus God was justly irritated against them and because of this he sent the Turks to invade (their country).²⁶

As a result of this religious persecution the eastern provinces were disaffected, and in some cases actually welcomed and led the Turks into Asia Minor. Michael further narrates that at the crucial battle of Manzikert,

... the Armenians, whom (the Greeks) wished to force to adopt their heresy, were the first to turn their backs and to flee . . . all of them fled.²⁷

In the breakdown of the imperial administration of Asia Minor just before and after Manzikert the Armenians began to form independent bands and to raid both the Greeks and Syrians, and to set themselves up independently in the Taurus mountains.²⁸

But this tension between Greeks and Armenians was not merely religious nor was it of recent vintage. As the two leading ethnic groups in the Byzantine Empire they were often

²⁵ Attaliates, 135; Michael the Syrian, III.172-3.

²⁶ Michael the Syrian, III.154.

²⁷ Michael the Syrian, III.169; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, transl. E. A. W. Budge, 1 (London, 1932), 217.

²⁸ J. Laurent, "Byzance et Antioche sous le europalate Philarète," *Revue des études arméniennes*, 9 (1929), 61-72.

bitterly struggling for power and position. So that the petty religious issues merely covered deeper racial and cultural antagonism. And this was openly manifested not only between Greeks and Gregorian Armenians, but also between Greeks and Chalcedonian Armenians. One of the earliest and most graphic expressions is in a ninth century epigram attributed to the nun Casia.²⁹

The most terrible race of the Armenians
 Is deceitful and evil to extremes,
 Mad and capricious and slanderous
 And full of deceit, being greatly so by nature.
 Once a wise man said of them:
 Armenians are evil even when they are obscure.
 On being honored they become more evil;
 On acquiring wealth they (become) more evil on the whole;
 But when they become extremely wealthy and honored,
 They appear to all as evil doubly compounded.

This racial hatred is further reflected in the *typicon* of Gregory Pacurianus, the Georgio-Armenian general of the Chalcedonian faith, which was drawn up for his monastery at Baćkogo. In the *typicon* is included a chapter entitled, "Concerning the fact that there shall not be introduced a Greek presbyter or monk in my monastery, for the following reason."³⁰

²⁹ Text in C. A. Trypanis, *Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry* (Oxford, 1951), 43. See also K. Krumbacher, "Kasia," *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philolog. und der historischen Class der kayser. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaft zu München* (1897), 336-7.

Τῶν Ἀρμενίων τὸ δεινότατον γένος
 ὅπουλόν ἔστι καὶ φαυλῶδες εἰς ἄγαν,
 μανιῶδες τε καὶ τρεπτὸν καὶ βασκαῖνον,
 πεφυσιωμένον πάμπλειστα καὶ δόλου πλῆρες·
 εἰπέ τις σοφὸς περὶ τούτων εἰκότως·
 Ἀρμένιοι φαῦλοι μέν, καν δόξανται,
 φαυλότεροι δὲ γίνονται δοξασθέντες,
 πλουτήσαντες δὲ φαυλότατοι καθόλου,
 ὑπερπλούτισθέντες (δὲ) καὶ τιμηθέντες
 φαυλεπιφαυλότατοι δείκνυνται πᾶσι.

Krumbacher, *loc.cit.*, 336, also quotes a proverb attributed to Maximus Planudes expressing this hatred between Greeks and Armenians: "Ἀρμένιον ἔχεις φίλον, χειρον' ἔχθρὸν μὴ θέλε." ³⁰

³⁰ *Typicon of Baćkogo*, ed. L. Petit, *Typicon de Grégoire Pacourianos pour*

Thus if one examines the problems of civil strife and ethnic-religious hatred with all their ramifications within Byzantine society, the defeat at Manzikert and the Turkish occupation of Asia Minor consequent to it seem less startling. The civil wars between bureaucrats and soldiers occupied all of Byzantium's energies in a destructive conflict. As a result of this strife the generals removed the armies from the borders and the bureaucrats replied by completely dissolving the Byzantine indigenous armies. In their place costly and disloyal mercenaries were hired, who, though they might be successful in patrolling the borders, were unable to protect the central provinces once the enemy had crossed the borders. The results of this strife were disastrous at Manzikert where the Armenian, Frankish, Uze, and Patzinak mercenaries deserted, and when the bureaucrats, led by Andronicus Ducas, intentionally deserted the general-emperor Romanus Diogenes in order to secure power at Constantinople. With the destruction and dispersal of the Byzantine armies on the eastern frontiers of Anatolia, there were no longer any provincial armies in the heart of the empire to defend the provinces against the Turks. These had for the most part been disbanded by the bureaucrats. But even after Manzikert the Turks were not essentially interested in a systematic conquest of Anatolia. It was thanks to the civil strife that they were able to occupy much of Anatolia quickly and easily. Both bureaucrats and soldiers called the Turks in for military aid during the civil wars so that the Turks were brought all the

le monastère de Petritzon (Bačkogo) en Bulgarie (1904), 44-5. "Περὶ τοῦ μὴ κατατάσσεσθαι Ἐρωμάτων πρεσβύτερον ἢ μονάχοντα ἐν τῇ κατ' ἐμὲ μονῇ, καὶ δι' ἡττινα τὴν αἰτίαν." Further incidents of this animosity are to be found throughout the chronicles. Philaretus, though a Chalcedonian Armenian, had the Greek troops of Antioch treacherously slain after they had handed the city over to him (Matthew of Edessa, 179). In the great revolt of Bardas Sclerus in the reign of Basil II, the Greek troops who seem to have had a particular dislike for the Armenian troops in the army of Sclerus, marked them out for special treatment and put them all to the sword (Cedrenus-Scylitzes, II.425-26). On the hatred between Greeks and Armenians in the beginning of the thirteenth century, see P. Charanis, "On the Ethnic Composition of Asia Minor," p. 144.

way to the Aegean and many walled towns and cities were willingly handed over to them.

The ethnic-religious problem received a disastrous solution at the hands of the empire, but perhaps it could not have been otherwise between the Greeks and the Armenians. The immigration of a great part of the Armenian nation with its strong culture into the Greek provinces produced a serious problem for the empire. The attempt of the Byzantines to assimilate the Armenians by a forced ecclesiastical union embittered the Armenians greatly, to the point that open warfare broke out between the two elements in the eastern provinces. The Armenians, who formed the most important element of the border guards, completely disorganized the border defenses, in some cases by actually bringing the Turks in, in other instances by setting up independent political entities in the wake of the Turkish invasions. There can be no doubt but that many of the Armenians and Syrian Monophysites saw in the Saljuks their deliverers from the hands of the Orthodox Greeks.



THE MOTHER OF GOD
OF THE KANIKLEION

GEORGE P. GALAVARIS



AMONG THE LEAD BYZANTINE SEALS of the Th. Whittemore Collection in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University is this unpublished seal (Plate 9). Its dimensions are: 0.02 cm. diam. and 0.004 cm. thick. The obverse carries a standing figure of the Mother of God holding the Christ Child before her. In addition to the letters MP ΘV, which stand for Mother of God, there is the following inscription running in two columns:

H	KΛΙ
KA	OTI
NI	CA

Μήτηρ Θεοῦ, ἡ Κανικλιότισα
— The Mother of God, the Kanikliotisa

On the reverse is this metric inscription in four lines:

· ΚΕΠΟ · ·	[Σ]κέπο[ις],
ΠΑΝΑΓΝ ·	Πανάγν[ε]
ΔΩ ΚΑΙΩΝ	Δούκα Ἰωάν(νην)
ΘΕΟΔ · · ·	Θεοδ · · ·

It reads in translation: "O most pure, protect John Ducas . . ." The third name on the seal, probably the name of another family with which the owner of the seal was related, has not been preserved complete.¹ This invocation to the Virgin is well known from other metric Byzantine seals,² while the Ducas family is known from texts and monuments of sigillography.³ But any identification of our Ducas with a specific member of the family of Ducas remains uncertain. We can

¹ For other examples of Byzantine persons with three names see H. Moritz, *Die Zunamen bei den byzantinischen Historikern und Chronisten*, 1 (Landshut, 1896/98), 39-41.

² V. Laurent, "Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine," *Ἐλληνικά*, 4-8 (1931/35), *passim*; idem, *La collection C. Orghidan* (Paris, 1952), 337-339. In both works also bibliography on Byzantine seals.

³ Du Cange, *Historia byzantina*, I (*Familiae byzantinae*), (Paris, 1680), 160-167; F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène* (Paris, 1912), see index; V. Laurent, "Un sceau inédit du protonotaire Basil Kamateros," *Byzantion*, 6 (1931), 266-268; idem, *Ἐλληνικά*, 8 (1935), 327, index; idem, *Collection Orghidan*, 218, no. 428. Cf. B. Pantchenko, "Catalogue des plombs

only suggest an eleventh or a twelfth century date for the seal on the basis of the lettering of the inscriptions which finds parallels on other seals of this period.⁴

The representation of the Virgin on the obverse reproduces an iconographic type known as Virgin Kyriotissa,⁵ an epithet which often accompanies the type on Byzantine seals.⁶ On our specimen, however, the type is accompanied by the epithet *Kanikliotisa* and it is on this epithet that we shall concentrate.

Schlumberger had recognized the importance of the epithets which often accompany the figures of the Virgin on Byzantine seals.⁷ He had pointed out that some of these epithets are not of a mystic or poetic nature, but indicate special icons of the Virgin which were worshipped in famous religious establishments. The brief list of such epithets collected by Schlumberger was corrected and enlarged by Kondakov and Lichacev in their works on the iconography of the Virgin in which the evidence of the seals plays a major role. The relationship of seals to icons which these scholars have demonstrated⁸ is of significance for the art historian, who is enabled to recreate the history of works of art now lost. It is also important for the student of Byzantine civilization in

de la collection de l'Institut archéologique russe à Constantinople," *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique russe*, 9 (1904), 396; C. Konstantopoulos, *Βυζαντιακὰ μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Εθν. Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου* (Athens, 1917), 161.

⁴ Cf. Pantchenko, *Bulletin*, 8 (1903), 239, pl. xxxii, 8; Laurent Collection *Orghidan*, 172 pl. xlvi, 335.

⁵ For the type of the Virgin Kyriotissa, i.e. of the icon which was worshipped in the church of Kyrou, see N. P. Kondakov, *Иконография Богоматери*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1914/15), 141ff.; M. Vloberg, "Les types iconographiques de la mère de Dieu dans l'art byzantin," *Maria, études sur la Sainte Vierge*, ed. H. du Manoir, 2 (Paris, 1952), 410. Cf. A. Xyngopoulos, *Κατάλογος τῶν εἰκόνων, Μουσείου Μπενάκη* (Athens, 1936), 8.

⁶ G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), 39; N. Lichačev, *Историческое значение италографической иконописи, изображения Богоматери* (St. Petersburg, 1911), fig. 140, pl. iv, 19.

⁷ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 37ff.; idem, "La Vierge, le Christ, les Saintes sur les sceaux byzantins des X^e, XI^e, XII^e siècles," *Mémoires des Antiquaires de France*, (1888), 2ff.

⁸ See also the forthcoming paper "The Mother of God Stabbed with a Knife," in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

general, who enriches his knowledge concerning the religious life of the Byzantines.

The epithet which accompanies the Virgin on our seal is indeed neither of a mystic nor of a poetic nature. One can find it neither in the liturgy nor in the hymnology of the Byzantine church.⁹ The obvious assumption will be that here we have another case of a seal which copies an icon, the name of which derives either from a miracle, or from the name of the religious institution in which the icon was. For example the name Ἐσφαγμένη, "the slaughtered one," of an icon in the monastery of Vatopedi in Mt. Athos, has been obtained from a miracle,¹⁰ while names of some icons in Constantinople, such as Blachernitissa, Agiosoritissa and others, are derived from the names of the churches in which the icons were worshipped. The first possibility has to be excluded because the epithet Kanikliotisa does not suggest a miracle. In fact it is related to *Kaníkleion* which was the inkpot of the Byzantine emperor and to *Kaníkleios* who was the man in charge of the imperial inkpot, i.e., the secretary of the emperor.¹¹ Much later as Bees has shown the word *Kaníkleios* appears as a family name in the Peloponnesus.¹² But there is no reason to suggest any relation of the image of our seal with an icon of the Virgin related to the royal kanikleion, or to connect it with the family of the Kanikleios.

The Byzantine texts, however, mention a palace under the name Kanikleion (*τὸν βασιλικὸν οἶκον τὸν λεγόμενον Κανίκλειον*).¹³ It is known that this palace was transformed into a

⁹ For epithets of the Virgin in hymnography see S. Eustratiades, 'Η Θεοτόκος ἐν τῷ Τμυογραφίᾳ (Paris, 1930); cf. G. Soteriou, "Χριστιανικὴ καὶ Βυζαντινὴ εἰκονογραφία," Θεολογία, 27 (1956), 13.

¹⁰ G. Soteriou, "Ἄγιον Ὀρός" (Athens), 144; R. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos* (London, 1936), 361.

¹¹ Pseudo-Codinus, *De officialibus* (Bonn, 1839), 206; for the function of this office see F. Dölger, "Der Kodikellos des Christodulos in Palermo," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 11 (1929/30), 44-57.

¹² N. Bees, "Ο οἶκος Κανίκλειον ἡ Κανίκλη . . .," *Ακρίτας*, 2 (1904), 405-407.

¹³ Du Cange, *Historia byzantina*, II (*Constantinopolis christiana*), 2, 169. Dr C. Mango of Dumbarton Oaks called to my attention the fact that the Council of 842, which restored the images took place in this palace. The relevant text reads: ". . . καὶ σύνοδον θείαν καὶ ιερὰν τοπικὴν ἐν τοῖς Κανικλείον

monastery probably by the middle of the tenth century.¹⁴ It was certainly so in the eleventh century, because when the Comnenoi took over power and entered the capital in April 1, 1081, they looked for their mother and wives in the monastery of Kanikleion, where they had been confined by the emperor Nikephoros Botaniates.¹⁵

Although the texts keep silence as to the images which were worshipped in that monastery, there is no doubt that the image of our seal must be connected with this monastery. There must have been an icon of the Virgin known as Kanikliotisa after the name of the monastery to which a member of the family of Ducas must have had a special devotion in order to copy it on his seals.

The study, then, of the seal of the Fogg Art Museum has added one more epithet of the Virgin hitherto unknown and brought evidence for the existence of another icon of Mary venerated in Constantinople. Furthermore another fact known to the iconographers of the Virgin in Byzantine art, can be re-stated: a name which accompanies the Virgin does not necessarily indicate the iconographic type.

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ποιησαντες . . ." See J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graeca*, 12 (Hamburg, 1809), 416; J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed, nov., 14 (Paris-Leipzig, 1902), 788.

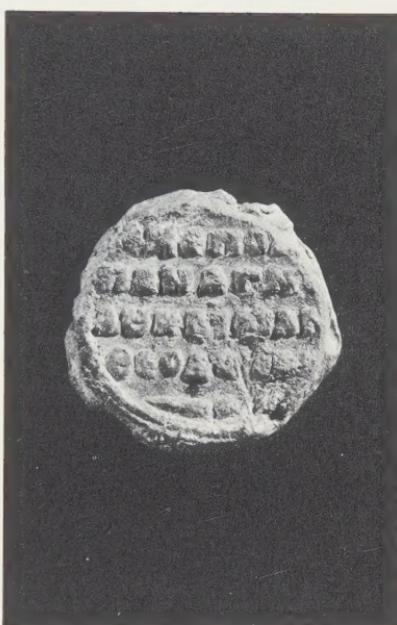
¹⁴ R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, III (*Les églises et les monastères*), (Paris, 1953), 286-287.

¹⁵ Janin, *ibid.*, loc.cit.



COURTESY OF FOGG ART MUSEUM

OBVERSE



COURTESY OF FOGG ART MUSEUM

REVERSE

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS. FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY. THOMAS WHITTEMORE COLLECTION. LEAD SEAL (Twice its Actual Size). BYZANTINE. 11TH-12TH CENTURY

